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The Last Obstacle To Clinton's Quest Brown, Flailing and Harsh, Hopes to Trip Front-Runner

By R. W. Apple Jr. WASHINGTON — Former Governor Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. of California is flailing about, spewing out charges like sparks from a Fourth of July pinwheel, in a last-ditch effort to establish himself as a credible alternative to Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas.



ANOTHER BOMB FOUND IN BUENOS AIRES — Police bomb-squad members deactivating a timed charge that was designed to scatter leaflets in front of a Buenos Aires television station Tuesday.

Nuclear Leak At Russian Plant Alarms Europe

But Moscow Says Risk Is Limited A Disaster Waiting to Happen in East Bloc By Tom Redburn PARIS — The accident-prone nuclear power plant near St. Petersburg that leaked radioactive gases on Tuesday is only one of dozens of Soviet-built reactors in Europe that analysts consider to be so dangerous that they should be either shut down or fixed as soon as possible.

Roh Is Dealt a Setback in Korean Vote

By James Sterngold SEOUL — A new conservative party made a surprisingly strong showing in bitterly contested National Assembly elections here on Tuesday, threatening the majority the governing party of President Roh Tae Woo holds in the national legislature, according to preliminary results.



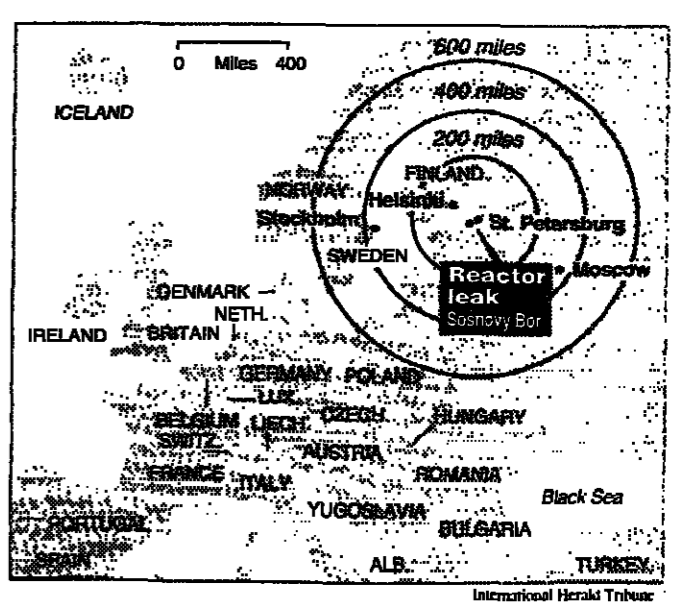
PEACE PLAN — Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher of Germany, left, sharing a word with Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger at the opening Tuesday in Helsinki of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Kiosk



In Gorbachev's View, He's Not Just History Eye on Future, He Assesses the Past

By Michael Dobbs and Robert G. Kaiser MOSCOW — Almost three months after he was forced out of office, Mikhail S. Gorbachev says that some of his most pessimistic predictions about the disintegration of the world's largest country are being realized.



One Fatality in Amman Hotel Fire

AMMAN, Jordan (Combined Dispatches) — Fire broke out Tuesday night during a Ramadan banquet at the Jordan Intercontinental Hotel, killing a man who had taken an elevator, injuring at least 22 people and stranding guests on balconies for two hours or more.

Table with financial data including Dow Jones (3,260.96), The Dollar in New York (DM 1.6638, Pound 1.7196, Yen 133.55, FF 5.6436), and other market indicators.

Wry End for U.K.'s Punch: 'We're All Fired, Oh Dear'

By Suzanne Cassidy LONDON — Britain's dentists' offices will be the less cheery for the news: Punch, the country's oldest and best-known satirical magazine, is closing after 150 years.

Does Barcelona Really Want Statue of a Sock, With a Hole?

By Alan Riding BARCELONA — Widely acclaimed as Catalonia's greatest living artist, Antoni Tàpies was the unchallenged choice to design a sculpture for the central hall of the new National Museum of Catalan Art.



# Cathay Pacific Bounces Back

## Flatt 1991 Net Masks Recovery in 2d Half

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches  
**HONG KONG**—Cathay Pacific Airways, Hong Kong's flag carrier, posted Tuesday a fall of just 1.5 percent in 1991 net profit, surprising many analysts with the strength of its recovery from the Gulf War and recession. The airline, which is owned almost 52 percent by the Swire Pacific conglomerate and 12.3 percent by Beijing-based China International Trust & Investment Corp., turned in a net of 2.95 billion Hong Kong dollars (\$381 million), down from 2.99 billion dollars in 1990. Revenue rose 5.6 percent, to 20.93 billion dollars, while operating profit edged up to 3.65 billion dollars, from 3.52 billion. Chairman David Gledhill said the decline in net mirrored last year's tough operating climate. Despite a pickup in passenger traffic and lower fuel costs in the second half, "the recession continued and price competition increased as airlines struggled to conserve or improve cash flow," he said. Cathay carried 7.4 million passengers last year, 4.4 percent down on 1990's level. The passenger load factor dropped to 73.6 percent from 75.9 percent. Many analysts had forecast a drop in 1991 net of as much as 13 percent, based on projections that took into account the gloomy state of the international airline industry. Mr. Gledhill said he expected improved revenue in 1992 but doubts remained over the health of the world economy as well as cost pressures stemming from the 12 Boeing 747-400s and 14 Airbus A330-300s. Anne Gardini, senior analyst at Wardley James Capel (Far East) Ltd., said the 1991 results were in line with her expectations given the strong upturn seen in the second half of 1991. She forecast a 19 percent increase in 1992 net profit. But Ms. Gardini disagreed with Mr. Gledhill's prediction that capacity would be matched by passenger demand this year, saying increased capacity from three new aircraft coming on stream would continue to outpace passenger traffic growth this year. The chairman emphasized that keeping a lid on costs would be a priority. Some analysts said Cathay should diversify its passenger traffic base away from Asia. Japanese account for 30 percent, and Taiwanese travelers 10 percent, of the passenger base. "The economy is not extremely buoyant," an aviation analyst said. "Also, Cathay is quite exposed to the Japanese market and Japan's economy has not been doing well." (Reuters, Bloomberg, AFP)

### The airline forecasts higher revenue, though some doubts remain.

Hong Kong's persistent double-digit inflation rate. The airline's capacity increase will be much higher than in 1991, and with a return of Japanese traffic and a strong performance by the economies of most Asian countries, load factors will increase," he said. Cathay is expected to continue to expand its fleet, with outstanding commitments to acquire nine Boeing 747-400 aircraft, including two freighters, and 10 Airbus A330-300s. In addition, it has options for a fur-

# Japan Opens Door for U.S. Rice Display

Agency Press-Photo  
**TOKYO**—Japan will let American rice growers display their produce at a food exhibition here next month, defusing a potential dispute with Washington, Agriculture Minister Masamichi Tanabu said Tuesday. "Japan will not say 'no' to the U.S. rice display unless the rice is to be sold," Mr. Tanabu was quoted as saying at a press conference. Since Japan virtually bans imports of foreign rice, the statement was seen as a largely symbolic softening of the government's stance. Last year, Mr. Tanabu's predecessor, Motoki Kondo, triggered trade friction with America by insisting that such displays violated Japan's Food Control Law. The government repeatedly asked U.S. rice growers to withdraw their samples, which they finally did on the last day of the five-day exhibition. The United States, currently negotiating with the Japanese Food Agency, says the display at this year's Great American Food Show, to be held April 14-16, is for educational purposes only. Japan has argued that rice self-sufficiency is a matter of national security. U.S. officials argue that Japan should convert its ban on rice imports into tariffs. (Reuters, Bloomberg, AFP)

# Key Matsushita Officer Resigns Over Loans

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches  
**TOKYO**—A vice president of Matsushita Electric Industrial Co. has resigned over bad loans made by a leasing subsidiary to an Osaka restaurant operator and stock speculator, a Matsushita spokesman said Tuesday. Shoji Sakuma, vice president for marketing, resigned to take responsibility for loans made by National Leasing Co., a 100 percent-owned unit, to Nui Onoue. Mr. Sakuma will remain with Matsushita as a corporate adviser. Miss Onoue was arrested in August and later indicted on charges that she used about 350 billion yen (\$2.6 billion) in forged bank deposit receipts to obtain billions of dollars in illegal loans. It is alleged that Miss Onoue used the receipts as collateral to borrow money from such financial institutions as National Leasing. She has since pleaded guilty to defrauding institutions of 269 billion yen. The company also said that the vice president for finance, Masahiro Hirata, would be demoted to director as a result of the incident. It did not spell out the nature of his involvement, if any, however. Chairman Masaharu Matsushita and President Akio Tanii are to take a 50 percent pay cut for three months starting in April. Again the company did not indicate what role either might have played. Matsushita said National Leasing would write off the bad loans and split off its finance division to form N. L. Finance Co. The company did not disclose the sums lent in the alleged fraud. Kyodo news agency said the company would write off 20 billion yen out of a total loan of 50 billion. Separately, a former deputy labor minister was fined and given a suspended two-year prison term for taking bribes from a company in return for influencing labor policy. The Tokyo District Court imposed the 6.81 million yen fine on the former government official, Takashi Kato, 62. He was the fourth person to be convicted in the Recruit Co. influence-peddling scandal. The ruling was the latest in a series of trials involving attempts by Recruit, the information conglomerate, to buy influence by providing lucrative stock deals to scores of influential politicians, bureaucrats and executives. Since the deals were uncovered in 1989, prosecutors have charged 12 politicians, public officials and corporate executives with accepting bribes. They are being tried in five separate cases that began in November 1989. (Reuters, AP)

### Investor's Asia

Company	Share Price	Change
Asahi	1,200	+10
Daewoo	1,500	+20
Hyundai	1,800	+15
Kia	1,600	+10
Ssangyong	1,400	+5
Yongu	1,300	+8
Yongu	1,250	+12
Yongu	1,200	+18
Yongu	1,150	+22
Yongu	1,100	+28
Yongu	1,050	+35
Yongu	1,000	+42
Yongu	950	+50
Yongu	900	+58
Yongu	850	+65
Yongu	800	+75
Yongu	750	+85
Yongu	700	+95
Yongu	650	+105
Yongu	600	+115
Yongu	550	+125
Yongu	500	+135
Yongu	450	+145
Yongu	400	+155
Yongu	350	+165
Yongu	300	+175
Yongu	250	+185
Yongu	200	+195
Yongu	150	+205
Yongu	100	+215
Yongu	50	+225

### Very briefly:

- Jardine Fleming Group Ltd. posted a 13 percent increase in after-tax profit for 1991, to \$84 million, citing good results from investment management, wholesale banking and corporate finance.
- Shiryama Corp., a Japanese property concern, has agreed with the British government to buy London's historic County Hall, which it would turn into a hotel, subject to approval by the next British government.
- Optus Communications Pty., Australia's private telephone company, said its U.S.-made satellite, which was stranded Sunday on a launch pad in China after a rocket failure, should be in orbit by July.
- Nissan Motor Co. has established a sponsored American deposit receipt facility in the United States with Morgan Guaranty Trust Co.; each ADR will represent two shares in Nissan and will be quoted on the Nasdaq.
- Sawa Indonesia Bank, a private Indonesia-Japan joint venture, has opened a branch in the East Java capital of Surabaya; the bank is the second foreign joint venture to open a branch there.
- Formosa Plastics Corp., the Taiwan petrochemical giant, plans to borrow \$280 million in syndicated loans from local banks to finance construction of two chemical plants in Texas.
- Australia's Civil Aviation Authority is preparing to negotiate the details of an air-traffic-control contract with Thomson Radar Australia Corp., a unit of Thomson CSF; it is due to be signed in August.
- Marubeni Corp. is negotiating with American Telephone & Telegraph Co. to take about 10 percent of an AT&T affiliate, EOC Inc., which is developing handheld computers, in a deal valued at up to \$8 million.
- Japan is considering lowering its ceiling on cars and other vehicles sold to the European Community, due to slumping exports; last year, the government asked carmakers to freeze exports at 1.25 million units a year. (AFP, Reuters, AP, AFP)

# Chairman of Hong Kong Market Watchdog to Step Down

By Laurence Zuckerman  
International Herald Tribune  
**HONG KONG**—Robert Owen, who presided over some of the most sweeping reforms in the history of Hong Kong's securities industry, will retire as chairman of the Securities and Futures Commission, the government said Tuesday. He will step down when his contract expires at the end of April, the third anniversary of his tenure and of the commission itself, and will be succeeded by Robert Nottle, deputy chairman and an executive director of the commission. Mr. Owen said he would take a position in the private sector that initially would be based in Britain but could bring him back to Hong Kong. He refused to give details. The chairman's departure has been rumored for several months and will likely not spell any major changes in the colony's regulatory environment. But it does mark the end of an era in which the Hong Kong market made the transition — sometimes kicking and screaming — from being the

personal fiefdom of a few power brokers to a bourse of international stature. "The commission has now managed to restore the international investor's confidence in the market after 1987," Mr. Owen said at a news conference on Tuesday. Mr. Owen, who began his career in the British foreign service and later was chairman and chief executive of Lloyds Merchant Bank, arrived in the colony not long after the October 1987 global stock-market collapse, when Hong Kong was the only major exchange to close its doors. A government-appointed panel subsequently concluded that the exchange was being run as a "private club" by its chairman, Ronald Li, and recommended a series of reforms. Mr. Li was later convicted of soliciting bribes in the form of preferential share allotments. Mr. Owen was brought to Hong Kong as a consultant to the government and was named the chairman of the new Securities and Futures Commission in May 1989. During his tenure, Mr. Owen withstood attacks from big

business, which accused him of overregulating the market from local politicians, who at one point refused to fund the commission's budget, and from small ethnic Chinese brokers, who said Mr. Owen was trying to drive them out of the securities business. Nevertheless, he instituted most of the panel's reforms and, in the commission's most bruising battle, wrested power away from a group of ethnic Chinese brokers and reconstituted the Hong Kong Stock Exchange, making its ruling council more representative of the financial community. "He did a very good job in the teeth of entrenched interests," said William Phillips, managing director of Barings Securities (HK) Ltd. "I take my hat off to him." Henry Wu, chairman of the Hong Kong Stockbrokers Association, which represents many small Chinese brokers, was not as enthusiastic. "Mr. Owen has probably done work that a lot of us will not be able to appreciate until five years down the road," he said. "Right now it is hard to say whether the results will be good or bad."

### Fairfax Comes Back to Market

SYDNEY — Australia's oldest newspaper concern, John Fairfax Group Pty., which is now controlled by Conrad Black, the Canadian media owner, said Tuesday it would resist on the market in May after an absence of more than four-and-a-half years. Fairfax, launching its prospectus, said it would offer the public 15 million new shares plus 158.25 million shares now held by institutional investors, at 1.20 Australian dollars (91 U.S. cents) each.

INTERNATIONAL FUNDS		March 24, 1992	
ABC INVESTMENT SERVICES CO (ECU)	220.28	ABC INVESTMENT SERVICES CO (ECU)	220.28
ABC INVESTMENT SERVICES CO (USD)	220.28	ABC INVESTMENT SERVICES CO (USD)	220.28
ABC INVESTMENT SERVICES CO (GBP)	220.28	ABC INVESTMENT SERVICES CO (GBP)	220.28
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# France and Britain Are Willing to Give Libya More Time

By Youssef M. Ibrahim  
New York Times Service

PARIS — France and Britain indicated Tuesday that they were willing to give Libya additional time to hand over two suspects accused of the 1988 bombing of a Pan Am airliner over Lockerbie, Scotland.

But the two governments reiterated their continued intention to ask the UN Security Council to impose sanctions on Libya if it failed to deliver the Libyan government agents to stand trial, either in Britain or in the United States.

The somewhat conciliatory tones from the British and French about Libya came in response to an apparent pledge by Libya to hand the two men to the Arab League. A delegation of Arab officials traveled to Tripoli on Tuesday to negotiate the terms of the Libyan offer.

But Libyan officials and senior Arab diplomats cautioned in several interviews that it was far from clear that Libya's intent went beyond its stated position to have those accused of these acts tried in

some international forum, adding that Tripoli was hoping to delay matters until the International Court of Justice in the Hague takes up the issue on Thursday based on a Libyan request.

Libya's ambassador to France, Saad Mujbeir, went further. He asserted in an interview that he "totally and categorically opposes" the handing over of the accused Libyans, suggesting that many in the Libyan leadership would take a similar stand.

"If they are handed over to the United States or Britain, I would resign my job and go back and oppose that decision in Libya," he said. "We cannot allow the United States or Britain, which have demonstrated a long history of hostility towards Libya, to act as judge, jury and executioner. That is an insult to all Arabs."

His comments seem to reflect a significant body of opinion within the Libyan leadership.

Some Arab experts pointed out that Libya had little to gain from beginning a process that would eventually bring the two Libyan security agents into a Scottish or U.S. court of law to face charges of murder and terrorism.

An Arab diplomat said the two would be sentenced and that they would accuse their superiors and "then the Americans will go after higher people," maybe Colonel Moammar Gadhafi, the Libyan leader.

Among the Arab diplomats, the dominant assumption is that Libya will offer only to hand the two accused men over to the Arab League, but not to the United Nations, which may automatically turn them over to a trial in Britain or the United States.

"I think the Libyans are very confused and the whole process is a mess," said an Arab envoy involved in negotiations in the affair. "We are not assuming anything at all because they have made all these pledges verbally. There is nothing in writing."

[The Bush administration demanded Tuesday that Libya put its offer in writing. The Associated Press reported from Washington.

"There is no written proposal or a lot of details on this one proposal beyond turning them over to the Arab League," said the State Department spokesman, Margaret D. Tutwiler. "We have no information on whether the Libyans intend to have the

people then turned over to the courts or what next?"]

Britain, France and the United States have accused Libyan security agents of masterminding the destruction of two civilian planes, in 1988 and 1989, resulting in the deaths of more than 400 persons. France has indicted four Libyans for the destruction of its UTA civilian plane over Niger in 1989.

In commenting on Libya's latest moves, Daniel Bernard, an official spokesman for the French Foreign Ministry, noted in a press briefing that France "appreciates" Libya's "manifest willingness" to cooperate with an existing Security Council resolution to hand over the men for trial.

"It follows that this implies, in agreement with the Americans and the British, the suspension of procedures under way concerning the adoption of a resolution by the United Nations," Mr. Bernard said.

In London, a spokesman for the Foreign Office said, "The governments of France, the United States and the United Kingdom have agreed that there should be a brief pause in the Security Council to enable the Libyans to implement their offer and hand over the two accused for trial."

# Leader of Thai Military Says He Would Decline Prime Minister's Post

BANGKOK — General Suchinda Kraprayoon, Thailand's coup leader 13 months ago and its supreme military commander, has told politicians that he does not want to be chosen as prime minister, a senior official of the leading pro-military party said Tuesday.

Suchinda informed the ones who approached him that he cannot accept it, "the official of the Samakki Tham Party said.

Samakki Tham won the most seats in the Sunday election for a 360-member lower house of parliament and allied itself with three other pro-military parties to forge a coalition with a slight majority.

They had agreed to choose a general who had not stood in the election as Thailand's 19th prime minister. "Suchinda said in these conditions he cannot accept," the official said.

The election was the first since the overthrow of the elected government of Prime Minister Chuan Choonhavan on Feb. 23, 1991.

Leaders of parties opposed to the military warned that selecting a general as prime minister could lead to unrest, and students and other democracy campaigners threatened to take their protests to the streets.

"This could just be another strategy of Suchinda's," a civil servant said. "He could be trying to look reluctant."

"I think we'll get a lot of this over the next few days," a European diplomat said. "It's all part of the bargaining."

The Samakki Tham official said the party had agreed to nominate its leader, Narong Wongwan, a businessman, as prime minister.

The two biggest partners in the pro-military coalition, Samakki Tham and the Chart Thai Party, were already at odds over which should name the National Assembly speaker, sources in both parties said.

Anti-military parties were meeting to discuss creation of an alternative coalition. They would need a sizeable defection from the pro-military side to gain a parliamentary majority.

The pro-military camp won 191 seats and the anti-military bloc 163.

# Continent Monitors New Radioactivity

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

HELSINKI — Finland said Tuesday that it had detected a minute increase in radiation levels in southern parts of the country after radioactive gas leaked into the atmosphere from a nuclear power plant outside St. Petersburg.

Slightly above normal levels of radiation were measured 100 kilometers (60 miles) east of Helsinki, a spokeswoman for the Center for Radiation and Nuclear Safety said.

"The increases are minute and were only detected very high up in the air," she said. "There is absolutely no danger to people."

No increases in radiation were measured at other monitoring stations within 190 kilometers of the nuclear plant, she said.

Sweden said it had detected no signs of radioactive contamination following the incident at the facility in Sosnovy Bor.

"We can see no trace of the accident in Norway and Sweden, so far," said Per Einar Kjelle, who heads radiation monitoring for the National Institute of Radiation Protection.

The German environment minister, Klaus Töpfer, activated radiation monitoring stations throughout the country, called in experts

and maintained telephone contact with his Russian and Swedish counterparts, as well as with the German consulate in St. Petersburg.

He also said that Russia should permanently shut down all reactors of the type involved in the leak.

Mr. Töpfer said that throughout the former Soviet Union there were 15 other such reactors, known as RBMK units, still using graphite to moderate nuclear reactions.

"We remain convinced that the RBMK reactors cannot be brought up to standards and that they must be shut down as fast as possible," Mr. Töpfer said.

He said he was concerned by reports from Moscow that officials intended to restart the reactor as soon as repairs were completed, in about four days.

Mr. Töpfer said there did not appear to be a radiation danger to the Russian population and that German monitoring stations had not detected unusual levels.

Shortly after German renunciation, the government closed a Soviet-designed nuclear power station in Eastern Germany on grounds of safety deficiencies that could never be corrected to Western standards.



The director of the Finnish Center for Radiation and Nuclear Safety, Antti Vuorinen, with the manual used in rating nuclear accidents.

# Nuclear Mishaps: From 'Anomaly' to 'Major Accident'

VIENNA — The 1990 international scale of nuclear events has seven levels.

- Level One is an "anomaly" in a plant's functioning, carrying no risk.
- Level Two is an "incident" that can affect a reactor's safety.
- Level Three, that of the radioactive leak at the St. Petersburg nuclear plant Tuesday, is a "serious incident," causing major contamination at the site and overexposure of workers to radiation.

But protection outside the site is not necessary.

- Level Four is an "accident" mainly affecting the plant, in which minimal radiation can affect local residents, and food should be checked.
- Level Five is an accident with risks for the population outside the site, such as the accident at the Windscale plant, in England in 1957, or the Three Mile Island plant in Pennsylvania in 1979. Radiation is detected in the atmosphere,

and a partial evacuation of local residents is required.

- Level Six is a "serious accident," sending radiation into the atmosphere, requiring emergency evacuation of all local residents to limit serious health effects.
- Level Seven is a "major accident," like that of Chernobyl in Ukraine in April 1986, which sends large amounts of radiation into the atmosphere and causes long-term health effects in a large zone that can affect several countries.

# LEAK: Mishap in Russia

(Continued from page 1)

grad plant closed last month after a drop in power triggered its emergency system.

At the same time, economic pressures have made the continuing use of the facility vital, despite safety concerns. Chernobyl in Ukraine, for instance, is supposed to be shut down for good in 1993, but for the time being continues to operate, with its fourth reactor, where the 1986 explosion occurred, closed in cement.

Armenia, faced with an oil and coal blockade by neighboring Azerbaijan, may soon start up an old reactor that was shut down for safety reasons after the massive 1988 earthquake there.

The Leningrad plant was faulted two months ago by Swedish inspectors, who reported that its safety standards were well below international levels. They said the facility lacked proper equipment to contain leaks in two of its four reactors.

According to Mr. Rogozhin,

Tuesday's incident occurred when radioactive iodine leaked into the machine room of one of the reactors at Sosnovy Bor. Radioactivity was then released into the atmosphere through the ventilation system.

Mr. Rogozhin said that the plant's emergency system had been triggered immediately and that the facility had then shut down.

Mr. Rogozhin said that a team of investigators had been sent from Moscow to carry out a thorough inspection of the shut-down reactor after it has cooled, in approximately three days.

Mr. Rogozhin said that monitoring of radioactivity levels was being conducted to determine whether further leakage was occurring. He said the incident was being ranked as 3 on the international scale of nuclear accidents, meaning there had been no off-site contamination.

But he said that if further leakage was found, the accident would be reclassified as 4. Chernobyl, the worst nuclear accident in history, was ranked 7, the highest ranking.

# DOZENS: Awaiting Disaster

(Continued from page 1)

plants, known as RBMK reactors, are inherently unsafe and should be closed quickly.

The other type built by the Soviets is a pressurized water reactor similar in some respects to Western nuclear power plants, but lacking many of the safety features required in the United States, Western Europe and Japan.

At least 10, based on an antiquated first-generation model, lacking even the most basic containment system capable of curbing radiation leaks during an accident, are currently in use. The design is considered so unsafe that Western authorities in Germany closed the Greifswald plant in the former Communist region as soon as they inspected it. Two similar units in Bulgaria have been shut.

"The old plants cannot be allowed to operate because people will not accept those where they are really worried about safety," said Pierre Tangny, inspector general for nuclear safety at Electricité de France. "Some of the newer ones could be reconstructed to meet modern standards. But whatever is done, it is a very expensive operation."

Environmentalists, however, question whether any of the Soviet nuclear plants should be saved.

"Western agencies are going in here and instead of closing down reactors and providing alternatives, they are bolting on safety mechanisms to keep the system going," said Simon Roberts of Friends of the Earth in London.

Despite the risks, many of those confronted by the dilemmas within the former Soviet Union and its former satellites contend that they have no realistic choice but to continue operating potentially dangerous nuclear reactors to generate electricity.

"This is a plant located in an earthquake region, which cannot cope with a large pipe break," said Dr. von Koerber of ABB. "This drastically highlights the nuclear

calamity in the former Eastern-bloc countries as well as the necessity of a commitment by the industrialized world to become involved in solving the problem."

So far, Western efforts have been modest.

The EC, for example, is providing 11.5 million Ecu to Bulgaria in an effort to improve nuclear safety at the two reactors it is continuing to operate. But Bulgaria still faces serious power shortages if Ukraine goes ahead with its plans to close next year the last two units operating at Chernobyl. The EC has also committed 53 million Ecu to improving nuclear safety in the former Soviet Union.

In the United States, Congress has allocated \$400 million to help finance the safe dismantling of nuclear weapons in the former Soviet Union, but there is only a tiny program of technical assistance on nuclear power safety offered by the Energy Department.

"There are very deep concerns throughout the nuclear community that the chances of a really serious accident in the Soviet region are quite high," said I. A. Bupp, a nuclear energy analyst with Cambridge Energy Research Associates in Cambridge, Massachusetts. "But the response so far has clearly been inadequate."

# GORBACHEV: Future Role?

(Continued from page 1)

Gorbachev said, adding that he had received many letters from ordinary people urging him to remain in public life.

He said the working title of the last section of his memoirs is "Everything Is Still Ahead."

During the hour-long interview on Monday, he alternately charmed and browbeat his visitors. Aware of his place in history, he frequently referred to himself in the third person as "Gorbachev."

Mr. Gorbachev said the situation in the former Soviet Union had reached an "explosive critical mass" because of social tension caused by declining living standards and the inability of the new 11-nation Commonwealth of Independent States to develop durable political institutions.

Deploping the political tension between Russia and Ukraine, he said Commonwealth leaders had done little but "walk and talk" during their most recent summit meeting, in Kiev last weekend.

"To tear the Slavic world apart is the most dangerous thing, the most unproductive," he said.

"The people will start to unite," he said.

"Then all these forces that allowed it to happen, that were incapable of preserving this world and giving it a new identity on a democratic basis and the redistribution of powers, these people will turn out to be just temporary figures," he said, making clear that he was referring to both Mr. Yeltsin and the Ukrainian president, Leonid M. Kravchuk.

Although Mr. Gorbachev insisted that he agreed with Mr. Yeltsin on the "broad principles" of Russia's democratic transformation, he sharply criticized the Russian leader's program of economic shock therapy. He accused Mr. Yeltsin of putting "the cart before the horse" by liberalizing prices at a time when much of the economy is run as a state monopoly.

He said the Yeltsin government was trying to move too fast and needed to make "corrections" in its reforms.

Mr. Gorbachev also made it clear that he remained bitter about the way he was forced to resign in December after Mr. Yeltsin and leaders of several other republics declared that the Soviet Union no longer existed.

He described Mr. Yeltsin's "maneuver" to create a Commonwealth after he and Mr. Gorbachev had tentatively agreed on a new version of the Soviet Union as "inexplicable."

Despite the harsh tone of his criticism of Mr. Yeltsin, Mr. Gorbachev said he maintained normal relations with him.

By way of confirmation, the phone rang just as the interview was ending. After picking up the receiver, Mr. Gorbachev announced to his guests that "Boris Nikolaevich is on the line."

He refused to acknowledge any substantial mistakes during his years in power.

He seemed particularly irritated by suggestions that he had failed to show sufficient decisiveness in dealing with Communist Party hard-liners who opposed his reforms and tried unsuccessfully to overthrow him in August.

# KOREA: Setback for Roh

(Continued from page 1)

The South Korean government tries to control the economy and society, which many feel is outdated for a modern and sophisticated nation like South Korea.

With 42 percent of the vote counted, South Korean television networks forecast that the Democratic Liberal Party would win 118 seats and that the main opposition party, the Democrats, would take 76 seats.

Independents were expected to take 22 seats, and Mr. Chung's new party, the Unification National Party, was forecast to win 20 seats. A small opposition party was ahead in one district. Many independents are expected to throw their support behind Mr. Chung once the election tally is completed.

Mr. Chung's party thus appears to have passed a crucial test by obtaining more than 20 seats. That is the minimum needed to participate directly in the key policymaking councils of the assembly.

The National Assembly has 299 seats, of which 237 were up for election. The remaining 62 will be apportioned afterward, according to a formula based on the percent of the popular vote each party commanded.

If these percentages hold, Mr. Roh's party will fall just short of a majority, potentially giving Mr. Chung a big say in government policy.

That is precisely what many Koreans, particularly businessmen, seem to have wanted.

"This election is offering a very important chance for businessmen," said Park Yong Hak, founder of another industrial conglomerate and chairman of the Korea Foreign Trade Association, an important trade group. "I do hope businessmen will express their views today to policymakers in the government, and that the policymakers will listen."

"After all," he added, "that's how Japan became such a power."

Conversations with election officials at several polling sites in Seoul and Korean news reports portrayed the voting as business-like.

# Honecker Would Go to North Korea

BONN — A Chilean diplomat seeking to resolve a diplomatic dispute with Germany said Tuesday that the former East German leader, Erich Honecker, was willing to leave his embassy in Moscow for North Korea.

But Roberto Cifuentes said after talks at the German Foreign Ministry that the fugitive former Communist chief was not prepared to return to Germany, where he faces trial for ordering border guards to shoot would-be defectors to the West.

Local comedians also had a field day, which made it no easier to persuade ordinary Catalans to take the work of art seriously.

Barcelona's artists and writers remained fairly loyal to Mr. Tapiés, although some critical voices were heard. Asked for his opinion of the sock, one prominent Catalan sculptor, Josep Maria Subirachs, himself no stranger to controversy, answered that Mr. Tapiés was a very good painter.

Soon, from taxis to cafés, everyone had an opinion.

"I don't know what it means," Alfonso Arias, a busy bartender,

# ART: Does Barcelona Want Sculpture of a Tall Sock, Complete With Hole?

(Continued from page 1)

wonder how far I would have gone if I had submitted each one to a referendum.

When the artist first presented his model to the new museum's board late last year, eyebrows were immediately raised. Although the meeting was private, a majority reportedly liked what they saw. But the board's vice president, Ramon Guardiola, spoke out against it, and no decision was made.

Instead, the problem was passed to City Hall and the regional government. Yet before the verdict was issued, word — and then photographs — of the planned sculpture leaked into local newspapers, and the great sock debate began.

Call-in radio programs and newspaper letters columns suggested that Catalans were, in the main, not amused.

Soon, from taxis to cafés, everyone had an opinion.

"I don't know what it means," Alfonso Arias, a busy bartender,

# Anti-Semitic Professor Out

By Susan Chira  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — After months of anger, tension and political maneuvering stemming from his racially charged remarks about Jews and whites, Leonard Jeffries Jr. was replaced as head of City College's black studies department, effective July 1.

The move, in a vote Monday night by City University's board of trustees, represents an attempt by the board to restore calm to a troubled department wracked by the controversy over the ideas of Mr. Jeffries, which include the difference between African "sun people" and European "ice people."

City College will appoint Edmund W. Gordon, 70, a former chairman of the Department of African-American Studies at Yale University and a longtime adviser to City College's president, to a two-year position with a mandate to recruit new faculty and reorganize the black studies department.

Mr. Jeffries called the refusal to renew the chairmanship he has held for 19 years "an academic lynching and a media lynching."

The controversy about Mr. Jeffries broke out last summer after he gave a speech in Albany speaking of a "systematic, unrelenting" attack from "the Jewish community" against himself and other black scholars, and of "a conspiracy, planned and plotted and programmed out of Hollywood" by Jews and Italians to denigrate blacks in films.

In his Albany speech, Mr. Jeffries also said that Jews had helped to finance the slave trade.

Students have said that Mr. Jeffries has distributed booklets in class suggesting that the skin pigment melanin may give blacks an intellectual advantage.

And he has often talked about the difference between the humanitarian and communal "sun people" of Africa and the "ice people" of Europe, where harsh conditions produced a culture of "domination, destruction and death."

# PUNCH: 150-Year-Old Satirical Weekly Will Close

(Continued from page 1)

ed everything Charles Dickens ever submitted to it; actually, Mr. White said, Mr. Lemon was a close friend of Dickens and feared that the author would be embarrassed by being published in Punch.

During the three decades of Mr. Lemon's editorship, the magazine established itself not only as a humor magazine, but as a campaigner for social justice.

The British artist Gerald Scarfe expressed regret at Punch's closure.

"It was the first place to publish one of my cartoons," he said, "so I'm very sorry to see it close. It's been a great sort of breeding ground or testing ground for cartoonists. I'm not sure where they'll go now."

Like many, though, Mr. Scarfe, who worked at Punch in the early 1960s, believed that the magazine had lost its way of late.

"It's like that old cliché of the dentist's waiting room," he said. "That's the only place I ever saw it."

Echoing the much-quoted words of an early Punch editor, Mr. White said that Punch had "always been never as funny as it used to be."

The magazine, he said, "is to Britain all about nostalgia and looking back."

"But it's hard to run a magazine by looking back," he added.

Still, with a history like Punch's, it is hard not to refer to the past. The magazine was founded in 1841 by Mark Lemon in the back room of his parents' pub.

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# Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

## A Force for the Americas

Far-rightists backed by the military have now thwarted an international peace plan for Haiti, forcing the Organization of American States to contemplate stronger approaches to restoring democratic rule. In Venezuela, military nationalists challenge democracy. And the Shining Path guerrillas terrorize Peru.

The time has come to create a new international military force that could intervene to protect democratic governments from hijacking by armed terrorists.

The vast majority of Haitians favored OAS efforts to restore the ousted president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide. But an armed mix of soldiers and political thugs intimidated enough legislators to block approval.

Now OAS members are likely to step up economic pressure. That will bring new suffering to impoverished Aristide supporters, but may not soften the hearts of soldiers who have profited handsomely from drugs and other illicit rackets.

Nor will embargoes alone provide an answer to serious problems elsewhere in the hemisphere. Last month rebel soldiers nearly overthrew Venezuela's democratic government. And in Peru, the violent Shining Path insurgency continues to gain ground, threatening the democratic regime.

Peru's army, notorious for human rights

abuses, has proved ineffective and a danger to democracy itself. Meanwhile the possibility of backdoor U.S. intervention through drug interdiction rightly alarms Congress.

The crises demand a Latin American version of the collective security arrangements now emerging in Europe, Africa and Asia.

European mediators backed by United Nations peacekeepers are trying to end the deadly war between Serbs and Croats. Soldiers from a West African regional organization have helped restrain Liberia's civil war. And Indonesian and Malaysian forces are now moving into Cambodia as part of a UN peacekeeping plan. Outside intervention is no longer tantamount to big-power bullying.

A hemispheric intervention force is more likely to be accepted if Washington maintains a low profile. The United States, as the region's major military power, is uniquely suited to certain logistical and reconnaissance tasks. But political control of the force needs to be shared broadly.

Earlier in the Haitian crisis, Argentina and Costa Rica seemed favorable to creating an inter-American force. With the region's militaries again becoming restive and Shining Path on the march, there is little time to lose.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Two Cheers for Tatarstan

A third phase of imperial disintegration in the former Soviet Union comes into view. In the first phase, Eastern Europe was allowed by an enlightened Mikhail Gorbachev to go its separate national ways. In the second, the other 14 Soviet republics asserted claims to independence. Russia has tried to preserve, in the Commonwealth of Independent States, some shadow of a common structure, but during the last weekend that effort came near to crack-up on the rocks of Ukrainian nationalism. Now Russians face a third front of disintegration — from within.

On Sunday, Tatarstan, largest (5 million people) of nearly 20 autonomous regions within Russia, voted for independence, its precise form to be determined.

Now, Stalin's Russia unconsciously swallowed up Ukraine 70 years ago — a relatively recent step and one that is at least feasible to consider reversing now. But Russians conquered the Tatars, a Muslim people on the Volga, a formidable four-plus centuries ago. Stalin's "iron spoon," with which the Soviet tyrant stirred Russians into local populations, ensured a thorough mix, including much intermarriage. Citizens classified as Tatars now make up only

about 48 percent of the population; "Russians" constitute 42 percent, and more than half the residents of the capital. Russian President Boris Yeltsin pleaded for abandonment of the referendum and, then, for a no vote on independence. Ethnic assertiveness carried the day by 62 percent.

It was, by all accounts, a fair and democratic election — unchallengeable on process grounds. But it is apparent that, however worthy the principle of self-determination, universal application has its sobering effects. The basic and unresolved question is: What is a nation and what is a minority? Nations deserve independence, minorities deserve solicitude and protection. Russia had urged Tatars, and by extension a score of other non-Russian peoples, to regard themselves as a minority and to accept an autonomy status that it was prepared to sweeten generously. Tatars replied that they regard themselves as a nation — one that could live nicely on oil revenues that would no longer have to be shared with Moscow. There may be cheers in Tatarstan. In Russia, aspirin is appropriate.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Clinton and the Seawolf

Bill Clinton, the Democratic front-runner, wants to spend \$3.4 billion to build two Seawolf attack submarines that President George Bush correctly canceled. For that Mr. Clinton has been accused of "pandering" to the voters in Connecticut, whose primary is on Monday. But whatever his motives the policy is wrongheaded.

Even Mr. Clinton concedes that America does not need another Seawolf; he simply wants to keep submarine production capacity afloat until the time comes for a new sub. There is a better way to preserve vital defense industries as the Pentagon budget shrinks. Careful planning can choose exactly which skilled workers and plants are essential. The result is likely to be elimination of some facilities, such as the Connecticut shipyard that builds the Seawolf, but that is the sort of tough choice that will face any president in coming years.

The Seawolf was designed to counter a Soviet submarine threat that is unlikely to materialize. Mr. Clinton would buy a smaller, cheaper submarine, the Centurion, to replace older subs as they retire more than a decade from now. But the Centurion could not be procured until 1998 at the earliest.

Mr. Clinton rightly talks about needing "a plan for conversion" of defense industries to civilian projects. But nuclear submarine yards are not ideal candidates for conversion. There is no commercial need for nuclear subs, and many of the technical skills needed for constructing them cannot be honed by building much else.

Even as part of America's defense industrial base, the nuclear submarine yard at General Dynamics' Electric Boat Division in Groton, Connecticut, may not be needed. The United States has another shipyard capable of building and repairing nuclear warships — at Newport News, Virginia. When the Pentagon begins building Centurions, it will not be producing them at a fast enough pace to keep two shipyards going. And it does not need two fully capable shipyards to ensure future competition in designing new nuclear subs. Newport News says it can restart sub construction even after a hiatus — if the yard can be put to work overhauling existing subs and building a new nuclear-powered aircraft carrier. A study of the nuclear warship construction industry could examine that claim. It could also examine which key subcontractors with necessary skills may need to be kept in business during the hiatus.

Closing Electric Boat will be painful for its employees and costly to Connecticut and Rhode Island, already suffering from prolonged recession. And resuming submarine production at Newport News after a long layoff would entail other costs. But it would be cheaper than keeping Electric Boat at work building unneeded submarines. Mr. Clinton calls for change and recognizes that it begins with substantially larger cuts in the defense budget. He has to accept the consequences of those cuts. Otherwise the more things change, the more they stay the same.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Other Comment

### Japan and Germany Retrench

As real estate values decline in Japan, the combined collateral worth of securities placed with Japanese banks is diminishing. Japanese companies are plagued by losses. It is inevitable that money will be sucked into Japan's domestic economy.

The development is serious for the export-driven East Asian economies, because they stand to lose the most.

But reports of the economic demise of Japan are grossly exaggerated. The bubble has not burst; it has been deflated. And even a smaller Japanese economy will remain a considerable force to reckon with. In the longer run, Asian economies, a logical investment site for Japanese companies, do not need to worry, for Japan's economy has matured; its work force will not want to perform certain jobs. Some industries will not be competitive if they try to hire expensive local labor. The Japanese economy that will emerge from the current slowdown will

be as dynamic as the previous one. It is to be hoped that it will be structurally sound and eager to be part of the global economy.

—Business Times (Singapore).

Germany has always traded on being a high-wage, high-skills economy. Now productivity is falling to match wage increases. The implications for German competitiveness are dreadful.

On hourly wages, Germany is only the sixth highest in the world. But when the legally enforced social costs met by German employers are added, Germany becomes the world's most expensive country in which to employ people. German employers look enviously at countries such as Britain, which are not just cheaper, but more flexible. Many big German companies are talking about sitting factories abroad.

The hope is that labor costs in the EC will converge. But that must mean leveling down as well as leveling up, if Europe is to compete.

—The Times (London).

# Foreign Policy: The Education of Governor Clinton

By Richard Reeves

LOS ANGELES — You will like Bill Clinton's foreign policy — as soon as he has one. Anyway, if you don't like what you hear, he will change it in a paragraph or two.

Given the prospect that the governor of Arkansas could become the 43d president of the United States, the time has come to consider what the man thinks about the world and America's place in it.

Judging by the evidence, particularly a

Mr. Mandelbaum is an old friend of the candidate. (They met in a hallway almost 25 years ago at University College, Oxford.) He points out that his man knows well the new business-hunting commuter routes to Japan, Germany and other places where executives and industrialists might be interested in a low-wage, nonunion state like Arkansas. Left unsaid, of course, is that governors rarely know much about such things as satellite intelligence, missile thrust weights or Yugoslavia.

The latter point was made in the "A New Covenant for American Security" speech in December at Georgetown University, one of his many alma maters. The governor, more or less, was for everything he could think of and against most of it, too. If nothing else, the text provided quotations for all seasons.

**For better or worse, Clinton is not the only well-educated American who sees foreign affairs through the prism of domestic concerns.**

speech at the end of last year, he has not figured that out yet. But between contradictory lines it looks to me as if a President Clinton would probably and radically change U.S. foreign and national security policy — turning a new set of younger wise men, the class of '68 as it were, and crafting an economics-driven American stance to replace the military-driven American stand of the past 50 years.

"Governors know about getting jobs," said Michael Mandelbaum of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. "Bill Clinton understands economic foreign policy as well as anyone in the country."

When reporters did cover the Flowers story, virtually none could resist calling the Star a "sleazy supermarket tabloid." Yet that story had attributed quotes, on-the-record interviews and tapes.

Newsweek tried to poke holes in this account, making a few minor inconsistencies in Ms. Flowers's tale. But many normally thoughtful commentators did not even try to assess the facts.

Sidney Blumenthal of The New Republic, who only months ago seemed obsessed with proving the veracity of Anita Hill's claims, dismissed the "gaudy" Ms. Flowers as "the woman in red, trimmed in black to match the roots of her frosted hair." A Washington Post article said her "body language" proved that she was lying.

For many reporters, whether she told the truth was eclipsed by the question of whether infidelity was a legitimate issue. Most of the press decided it wasn't. Exit polls make clear that many voters think it was.

After all, who could listen to the tapes and not be troubled when Ms. Flowers asks Mr. Clinton what she should say if asked about her government job? (His answer: "If they ever ask if you talked to me about it, you can say no.")

two domestic policy and foreign policy to hurt our country and our economy . . ."

So Mr. Clinton chooses both, saying: "Make no mistake: Foreign and domestic policy are inseparable in today's world."

If you are an old-fashioned Cold Warrior and any of that seems naive or neo-isolationist, move on to the next page and see how Star Warrior with a little neo-Realism: "We still must set the level of our defense spending based on what we need to protect our interests. First let's provide for a strong defense. Then we can talk about defense savings."

There is something for everyone in Clinton's Covenant, much of it a montage of the day's headlines, including a couple of demagogues that raise questions about either his experience or his sanity. He talks of a new consensus of concern for the security threats of ethnic violence in places like Yugoslavia. Whose security? There is nothing Americans can do about Yugoslavia except to thank God that the mad killers in the Balkans no longer are important enough to ignite world wars.

Another gem indicating that news is slow reaching Arkansas: "In an era of unpredictable threats, our intelligence agencies must shift from military base-counting to a more sophisticated understanding of political, economic and cultural conditions that can spark conflicts." Give us a break, those are the same agencies that, at \$1 billion a year, did not notice that the Soviet Union was cracking up.

It goes on, quoting John Kennedy and such with a surprising obtuseness about the presidential differences between the 1960s and now.

For better or worse, Mr. Clinton is not the only well-educated American who sees foreign affairs through the prism of domestic concerns — to the point of invasions or attempted assassinations planned not to conquer or to change but just to raise morale at home. In John Kennedy's time the opposite was true. President Kennedy's principal concern about civil rights was that black demonstrations were embarrassing America around the world.

Presumably Mr. Clinton will learn; he is a smart fellow whose roots sometimes seem to go deeper into the thinking fields of Oxford, Yale and Georgetown than into the soil of Arkansas. The other Rhodes scholars in the hallway where he met Mike Mandelbaum, who had come from Cambridge to pick up a typewriter, were Mr. Clinton's roommate, Strobe Talbott, now Time magazine's ranking international thinker, and Robert Reich, who at Harvard thinking and writing about international productivity. An even older friend who sees all diplomacy as an extension of economics, from Georgetown days, is Roger Altman, a New York investment banker and former assistant secretary of the Treasury.

That class of '68 is involved, along with a few older men (particularly Anthony Lake, a Henry Kissinger National Security Council assistant who resigned in protest over the secret bombing of Cambodia in 1970), in a process that seems more and more important: the education of Bill Clinton.

Universal Press Syndicate.

# Personal Matters: The Media Have Been Nice to Him So Far

By Ellen Ladowaky

WASHINGTON — The only remaining suspense of the 1992 Democratic campaign is whether or not another scandal will strike Bill Clinton. If it does, he is ready. His strategy is to claim that he has been pilloried by press sensationalism. ("I've been asked about by the press a woman I didn't sleep with and a draft I didn't dodge.")

But much of the media have almost heroically tried to save him, for various reasons — ethical angst, guilt over the 1988 treatment of Gary Hart, embarrassment at being scooped by publications usually associated with Elvis sightings.

And there is another reason: The press is enamored of Bill Clinton. This is the real secret love affair of the 1992 campaign.

The coverage of the Gennifer Flowers story in January set the tone. When the tabloid Star printed her claim of an affair with Mr. Clinton, the mainstream press dismissed it as unfun to print. Albert Hunt of The Wall Street Journal, for example, called it a "stabby accusation" that "distorted and contaminated not only the political system but the judgment of some in the news media."

After a day or two of muted coverage, most editors ignored the story. The New York Times relegated it to a tiny box. Washington Post readers had to turn to page A-8 to find out what everyone was talking about.

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After all, who could listen to the tapes and not be troubled when Ms. Flowers asks Mr. Clinton what she should say if asked about her government job? (His answer: "If they ever ask if you talked to me about it, you can say no.")

Reporters persisted in casting doubts on the recordings' authenticity even as Mr. Clinton himself was apologizing to Mario Cuomo for remarks about him on the tape.

Even if what Mr. Clinton did in private was no one's business, there was always a semiofficial press consensus that public dishonesty on his part would be politically lethal. Here Mr. Clinton's initial slippery responses should have given pause.

He defended himself with carefully constructed phrases such as, "I deny that allegation," and "I haven't seen her in public for over 10 years." Only later did he shift to a complete denial ("a woman I didn't sleep with").

Ms. Flowers's account was largely corroborated by her then roommate, a development ignored by most papers. As Hendrik Herzberg of The New Republic, a Clinton admirer, has admitted, virtually nobody actually believed Mr. Clinton's denial. By the press's own standards this should make the Flowers incident an issue.

So where are the stories? The same absence of scrutiny has aided Mr. Clinton through a succession of other flaps, from reports of other sexual dalliances to less-than-upright financial dealings.

The release of his 1969 letter revealing that he tried to avoid the Vietnam draft seemed to set the press



*'We'd better not. I might go into politics someday.'*

cooperating to justify it and put it into a generational context.

That controversy created obvious difficulties for a candidate trying to jettison his party's liberal foreign policy baggage, but, here again, the press came to his aid, this time by accepting his assertion that he supported the Gulf War.

The day the war was scheduled to begin, Governor Clinton was quoted in an Arkansas paper as saying that he agreed with Democrats in Congress who wanted to rely on sanctions. Apart from Time magazine, few news organizations have pressed him on this.

The press corps rooting for a candidate is nothing new. But rarely has the object of the favoritism complained so bitterly about his supposed mistreatment.

In a recorded conversation with Ms. Flowers he accurately predicted the press's behavior: "They don't want to hear it." The fate of his campaign may now hinge on whether reporters decide they want to hear it after all.

The writer is a producer for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. She contributed this comment to The New York Times.

# A Time of Danger, and of Hope, for Romania's Fragile Democracy

By William McPherson

WASHINGTON — "But you don't understand!" a Romanian told me more than a year ago when I had expressed irritation over the heated and interminable discussion he was carrying on with a comrade over one theory of conspiracy or another. "Romania is a country in the midst of a nervous breakdown!"

At the time, the December 1990 first anniversary of the fall of Nicolae Ceausescu, Romania was passing through a particularly difficult period in which nothing much appeared to happen. But much was threatened, and the ruling powers had reacted in predictably overwrought ways, culminating in the beating of some dozen journalists during a demonstration the night of Jan. 13, 1991.

Subsequently, coal miners descended for the fourth time on Bu-

charest, precipitating the forced departure last September of a prominent defender of their previous accusations, the prime minister, Petre Roman. Two weeks later, in October, a new interim government of technocrats was formed that included some members of the nominal opposition. Under the new, determined and non-political prime minister, Theodor Stolojan, the difficult work of economic reform picked up speed.

Then last month something truly startling happened: Local elections toppled the ruling National Salvation Front in the major cities, including the capital, largely because 14 opposition parties joined forces in a Democratic Convention and fielded a single anti-Communist slate in most

localities. The elections were generally conceded to be free and fair — certainly more fair than the elections that gave the Front its overwhelming victory in May 1990.

Meanwhile, the U.S. Congress holds a single powerful lever to nudge the country forward: restoration of the most-favored-nation trading status eagerly sought by the present government but denied to Romania since Mr. Ceausescu unilaterally renounced it in early 1988.

Although general elections are expected in June, the timing is by no means sure because the electoral laws for parliament and the presidency are still being debated. Senators and deputies fearful of being tossed out of office have little incentive to speed up

the process. The crucial unresolved questions in the two laws are the presence of national observers at the polls and the percentage of votes required for a party to be represented in the parliament — the threshold, as it is called. At present there is no threshold and thus a plethora of parties, 10 in the Chamber of Deputies and seven in the Senate, which make it much easier to divide and rule. In contrast, Bulgaria has a 4 percent threshold — the figure was taken from the German law — and three parties out of 93 registered are represented in parliament. Bulgaria was accorded favored trade status in November.

"Even Bulgaria," an unhappy Romanian official recently sighed. "And soon we will be saying, 'Eh, Albania.'"

But perhaps not. If the Democratic Convention continues to field a unified slate for the parliamentary elections, the blow to the Front would be grave indeed, and for the first time Romanians, most of them strongly anti-Communist, would have a reasonable chance to elect a government free of neo-Communist taint.

The presidency is another matter. If the three major opposition leaders cannot agree to field a single candidate, there is no hope that any one of them will win. Even if the three do agree, their chances are slim.

This is an extremely dangerous period for the fragile democracy in Romania, where the Front remains the dominant force, where power has tended to pass rather violently, and where the election results seem tremors of foreboding through the parliament and the office of the president.

Rumors are many — that the CIA would like to see President Ion Iliescu have been offered "protection" by a great power if he agrees

# Hold Your Nose at the Steak House

By Jeremy Rifkin

WASHINGTON — In the United States beef is king. More than 6.7 billion hamburgers were sold last year at fast food restaurants alone. The average American consumes the meat of seven 1,100-pound (500-kilogram) steers in a lifetime. Some 100,000 cattle are slaughtered every 24 hours.

In South America the cattle population is approaching the human population. In Australia it has exceeded it.

Beef has been central to the American experience. Entrance into the beef culture was viewed by many immigrants as a rite of passage into the middle class. Commenting on the failure of European socialism to gain a foothold in America, Werner Sombart, a German economist, wrote: "On the shoals of roast beef and apple pie, all socialist utopias founder."

Now, the good life promised by the beef culture has changed into an environmental and social nightmare for the planet.

Cattle raising is a primary factor in the destruction of the world's remaining tropical rain forests. Since 1960 more than a quarter of all Central American forests have been razed to make pastures for cattle. In South America, 38 percent of all the Amazon forest cleared has been for cattle ranching.

The impact of cattle extends well beyond the rain forest. According to a 1991 report prepared for the United Nations, as much as 85 percent of the rangeland in the Western United States is being destroyed by overgrazing and other problems.

Nearly half the water used each year in the United States goes to grow feed and provide drinking water for cattle and other livestock. A 1992 study by the California Department of Water Resources re-

ported that more than 1,200 gallons (4,500 liters) of water are required to produce an 8-ounce (220-gram) boneless steak in California.

Cattle raising is even a significant factor in global warming. The burning of tropical forests to clear land for pasture releases millions of tons of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere each year. In addition, it is estimated that the earth's 1.28 billion cattle and other cud-chewing animals are responsible for 12 percent of the methane emitted into the atmosphere.

The beef addiction of the United States and other industrialized countries has also contributed to the global food crisis. Cattle and other livestock consume more than 70 percent of the grain produced in the United States and about a third of the world's total grain harvest — while nearly a billion people suffer from chronic undernutrition.

If the American land now used to grow livestock feed were converted to grow grain for human consumption, America could feed an additional 400 million people.

Despite the grim facts, the U.S. government continues to pursue policies that support cattle production and beef consumption. For example, at the same time that the surgeon general is warning Americans to reduce their consumption of saturated fat, the Department of Agriculture's Beef Promotion and Research Board is trying to convince Americans to eat more beef.

This year the board is expected to spend \$45 million on advertising.

Equally troubling is the government's grading system to measure the value of beef. Established in 1927, the system grades beef on fat

content: the higher the fat "marbling," the better the beef. By favoring fat over lean beef, the Agriculture Department has helped promote greater amounts of saturated fat in the American diet and contributed to rising health care costs.

Finally, the government has been virtually subsidizing Western cattle ranchers, providing cheap access to millions of acres of public land. Today 30,000 ranchers in 11 Western states pay less than \$1.92 a month per animal for the right to graze cattle on nearly 200 million acres (128 million hectares) of public land.

In 1986 the Reagan administration estimated the market value for pasturing cattle on the same land to be between \$6.40 and \$9.50 per month.

The government giveaway program has resulted in the destruction of native habitats, wildlife and the erosion of land.

The government's antiquated cattle and beef policies must be overhauled. The Agriculture Department, as it tried to do with the "Eating Right" pyramid, which was abandoned under pressure from the meat industry, needs to shift its priorities from promoting beef consumption to promoting a more balanced diet with less saturated fat.

The department's grading system should be restructured, with new classifications that elevate the status of leaner cuts of beef.

Congress should pass legislation to ensure that ranchers pay the market value for leased public lands. And it should reduce the public acreage available to ranchers, to help restore the Western grasslands.

The writer, an environmental activist, is author of "Beyond Beef: The Rise and Fall of the Cattle Culture." He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

not to run in the election; that Petre Roman has made a deal with the former secret police. As always in the Balkan capital, facts are few. The fear, however, is real.

Many members of parliament face a bleak future without the privileges of office, which include immunity. The same can be said of many of the former nomenclatura and members of the Securitate, or secret police.

The United States laid down three conditions for Romanian favored-trade status: free and fair elections; an independent television; and civil control of the former Securitate and its successor, the Romanian Intelligence Service. The first condition has been met in the first of the elections. Television, however, is still controlled by the government. And the director of the intelligence service reports only to the president, making it alarmingly autonomous.

For Romania, favored trade status would be a powerful symbol of validation by the U.S. government.

Heartened by the nascent signs of democratic pluralism and rudimentary political sense, and by the progress shown toward a market economy, the State Department has now offered Romania the carrot of favored status.

But Congress holds the stick — Congress and, perhaps, the League of Miners, again threatening to bring down the government if wage demands are not met. The progressive forces in Romania are caught between a rock and a hard place. So are the regressive forces. There has been no more pellucid a time since the revolution, and no more hopeful.

The writer, a former Washington Post editor, is a novelist who has spent most of the past two years in Romania.

## IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1892: Queen in Provence

HYERES — The pure atmosphere, with the pervasive scent of the violets and the clear blue sky of the land of Provence, go to make the hill of Costebelle an ideal home. Everyone seems to feel it a duty to carefully avoid any intrusion on the privacy of Queen Victoria, and probably not even in her home in the Scottish Highlands, where she is revered and beloved by all, does Her Majesty feel more secure from prying eyes or inconvenient curiosity than here.

### 1917: Fatal Food Riots

ZURICH — According to reliable information received here, 67 women were killed during food riots at Kiel, where shops were raided by infuriated and hungry mobs. Similar riots have taken place at Hamburg, where a large number of shops were also pillaged. And in many other towns the police took measure of extreme violence, to stop the disorders, which were rapidly developing the character of a general uprising. The revolution in Russia has caused great excitement throughout Germany. And in Reichstag yesterday (March 23) Herr Kunert, the Labor Deputy, attacked the Kaiser and the Government for the deplorable state of public health and the decrease in births and increased mortality caused by famine and unsanitary conditions.

### 1942: Savage Fighting

MOSCOW — [From our New York edition:] The Germans have hurled futile effort to wrest the initiative from the Red Army, the Russians reported tonight (March 24), saying 16,000 of the enemy had been killed on the Leningrad front alone in the last two weeks. More than thirty-eight newly arrived Nazi divisions were decimated unofficially by taking part in fighting raging from one end of the front to the other, with battles in some areas as savage as any in this war.

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Director of the Publication: Richard D. Simmons  
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Editor for Asia: Michael Richardson, 5 Conventry Rd., Singapore 0511. Tel.: 472-7768. Telex: RS36928  
Ming, Dir. Asia, Raff D. Kramphill, 50 Gloucester Rd., Hong Kong, Tel.: 8610616. Telex: 61770  
Ming, Dir. U.K., Garry Thomas, 62 Long Acre, London WC2E. Tel.: 836-8922. Telex: 662929  
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## Where

NEW YORK — The New York Times has a special section on the State of the World as seen through the eyes of the world's leading journalists.

ON MY MIND

With the influence it still has, the New York Times is a powerful force in the world. It is a force that is not only felt in the United States but also in other parts of the world.

For Earth and Child

In a time when the world is so divided, it is important to have a voice that speaks for the Earth and for the children of the world.

Friedrich

By Sylvia Nasar

Friedrich Hayek, an economist and philosopher who championed free-market economics, died in Freiburg, Germany, on March 22.

U.S. Acc

By Paul Lewis

UNITED NATIONS, March 24 — Rich and poor countries are expected to draw \$1 billion from 170 countries to help pay for the cost of global warming.

The U.S. stand threatens to undermine the international environmental cleanup plan for the next century, because of the new requests for additional funds from industrialized nations.

The 12 European Commission countries as well as Canada, and additional aid, but have committed themselves to support the plan.

The U.S. reluctance to contribute to emissions of the greenhouse gases at 1990 levels by the planned new international agreement on stabilizing the global temperature of the Rio de Janeiro summit.

OPINION

Where Bush Failed, Clinton Can Get It Right

By A. M. Rosenthal

NEW YORK — The way American politics is working out, a governor of Arkansas has the opportunity to take up a task of transcending importance that a president of the United States has left undone.

The job is to tell the people of America and of the world exactly what the United States should do and plans to do

ON MY MIND

with the influence it still commands, before it is completely frittered away.

This is Governor Bill Clinton's great chance not only to look presidential but to act presidential. It comes to him because he is the likely Democratic candidate — and because George Bush has failed so badly to carry it out himself.

After more than three years in office, with all horizons open to him because of the fall of communism and the triumph of American arms, there are some of the results of President Bush's foreign policy stewardship:

1. The United States sets worried, frightened and confused about the fall of communism, as if it were a kind of global pain in the neck, not a time for joy, helping and leadership.

2. In the Middle East, Mr. Bush has left Saddam Hussein in power, Iraq's nuclear capacity still in existence, millions of Iraqis hunted and starved in the mountains and swamps.

3. Now Mr. Bush is destroying the Israeli-Arab peace talks by demonstrating the one thing that he has managed to make clear about his foreign policy: his determination to cancel Israel's status as an ally or even a

worthy friend of the United States. 4. On China, he vetoes every congressional effort to lift a finger to dissuade Beijing from torturing and imprisoning dissidents. They never had dreamt this terrible thing — that America would turn its back on them.

He allows China to peddle slave-labor goods to the United States and missiles to the dictators. He walks away from the Tibetans — as he has from Kurds, Balts and Haitians.

5. In the breakup of Yugoslavia, the plans and goals of Bush-Baker policy are known, but to God alone.

But it is not unfaithful, this record in a man so endowed with experience and power. One thing has been missing in Mr. Bush. He has never really shown that he understands the strength of America's greatest asset: political democracy. It is what most people long for, and so many have died for. It is the one historically reliable barrier to war: Democracies do not attack democracies.

He does not get it. George Bush lost George Bush.

Lost, Mr. Bush protects a Chinese tyranny that gave us the Khmer Rouge. He appeases Middle Eastern dictators that live by war against neighbors or their own people. He seems in mourning for the Communist Soviet Kremlin of the Gorbachev era.

Those who voted for him but are now saddened by him are the people Mr. Clinton — or any other Democrat — will need to win in November.

Mr. Clinton gave a firm hedge on the Gulf War last year and recently gave another on how to deal with Saddam. To win on Election Day, he must soon show himself more candidly and clearly — Paul Tsongas talking Southern.

The governor made a good start in a foreign policy speech at Georgetown University, in Washington. It has its share of platitudes, but it is rich and thoughtful with details about specific strategic and political goals, too many to cover in one column. At its heart seems to be an understanding of democratic realism — the meaning, strength and stabilizing power of political freedom:

"We cannot disregard how other governments treat their own people, whether

or their domestic institutions are democratic or repressive, whether they help encourage or check illegal conduct beyond their borders... Democracies don't go to war against each other."

The polls may keep telling him that voters do not care about foreign affairs. But Mr. Clinton can best show respect for himself and the voters by reminding us over and over that the safety, jobs and hopes of Americans are so tied to the world that foreign policy is domestic policy.

If he keeps thinking and keeps talking about the value of democratic realism to his country and the peace of the world, he will never lose himself, or Americans who vote for him.

The New York Times



A Bit of Solace for the Afrikaner

By Peter Honey

WASHINGTON — I know a young Afrikaner in South Africa who grew to hate himself, to hate his Afrikanerism and his whiteness with its stigma of racism, so much that it literally drove him mad.

When he left high school Koo's had wanted to be a dominie, a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church. But the master of the college saw the rage in him and asked him to leave.

He tried to kill himself. The psychiatrist called it schizophrenia, called him down and sent him back into society.

When I last saw Koo's a few years ago he was working for a black-run anti-apartheid newspaper in deep trouble with the government, then under President Pieter Botha, and loving it. The security police were such frequent visitors that, like everybody else on the paper, he knew them by their names, their foibles, the cigarettes they smoked.

It was a cat-and-mouse life that he relished for its focus. But his dark eyes were haunted by a bitterness that I suspect had less to do with his circumstances than with the who and the why of his own existence.

I thought of Koo's last week, as the results of Tuesday's white referendum came in, confirming what should have been a widespread expectation: that with the chips down, two-thirds of white South Africans are prepared to cast their lot with the black majority.

I don't know if Koo's voted, but he was too politically involved to have stayed aloof, especially if it meant pulling the chain on white exclusivity. It would not have quenched the fires within him, but it might have brought him solace to at last be counted among the majority.

It is something that I too now understand, although my circumstances were

quite different from Koo's. Though part-Afrikaner, I was reared in an English-speaking opposition household, without the passion, the Calvinist gloom and the fears of extinction that define the Afrikaner psyche.

This week, for the first time in my 39 years, I have begun to feel at ease with my provenance. No longer is there that self-conscious twinge when I tell the curious that I was born in South Africa.

Like Koo's, though, and probably like

MEANWHILE

most of the nearly two million who voted for reform, I doubt that we will ever feel quite free of the injustices inflicted on generations of our black compatriots. Nor should we. Nor should the Germans for the Holocaust.

Which is why the referendum was so important. It gave white South Africans the chance — forced them, really — to stand alone briefly, with only a pencil and their consciences, to shove aside their whiteness, their ideological and ethnic differences, and simply be South Africans. That is not easy when all your life you have been defined as a minority — as a minority of a minority in a society locked up in boxes of minorities.

That it took a whites-only vote to do it is sadly ironic. But as President Frederik de Klerk said afterward, there was "an element of justice" in asking the white South Africans who started apartheid to let him negotiate an end to it; to deal away their monopoly on power and their social and economic domination.

It is something that I too now understand, although my circumstances were

"It doesn't often happen that in one

generation a nation gets the opportunity to rise above itself," he said. "The white electorate has risen above itself."

It is easy to point out, as several commentators have done, that without threats of renewed sanctions, diplomatic isolation, black uprising, economic disaster and the rest, Mr. de Klerk's mandate would not have been so secure. That is indisputable. He might have won it anyway, but anything less than two-thirds would have been a doubtful mandate.

But really, are the means as important as the act? Should Americans, Dutch and Germans put one another on the back and say, as some now seem to be doing, "Without us they would have been lost?"

To speak as if the struggle against racial domination in South Africa began a few years ago, to think that this is just about racism, bigotry, the good of boys; is not only to misunderstand the last 150 years of South African history, but to demean the agonies of thousands of South Africans, of all races and creeds, who fought for liberty in successive ages long before "apartheid" existed. Conflict, division and suffering characterized the Afrikaner nation even before it sought to cast itself that.

That almost 876,000 whites were so stubborn, or fearful or deluded, or all of those, as to defy the universal will and vote "no" to integration, is unappealingly sad. And dangerous. For among them are perhaps a few dozen heavily armed desperados who, knowing finally that they have no hope of stopping majority rule by constitutional means, are almost certain to raise the level of violence. One bullet can do a lot of damage.

But all is not lost. The no-group — and I call them that because they are not all Afrikaners — may shrink further if the white-instigated violence escalates. Many, probably a majority, who are uncomfortable with the bloodshed, may join those who believe in negotiating with blacks, not for majority rule, but for secession in a "white fatherland."

The idea of letting the no-group have its own homeland is gaining acceptance, even among leaders of the African National Congress. Here again, the referendum helped by showing a geographic pattern of resistance to reform: The rural northern Transvaal, settled 100 years ago by the most embittered Boer breakers, was the only one of 15 regions that produced a majority "no" vote.

But if you think this handful of fearful whites, consisting of less than 2.5 percent of the greater population, is the only intransigent group in South Africa, wait until the constitutional negotiators get to tinkering with Chief Mangosuthu Buthe's Zululand in Natal, and the Tswanas of Bophuthatswana in the north.

Clearly some sort of federal structure beckons. The alternative would be force. Why should people who crave minority identity be forced to assimilate when they pose no threat to the greater nation? Americans, more than most, should understand that.

The writer, now of The Baltimore Sun's Washington bureau, is a former Johannesburg correspondent.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

For Earth and Children

In a few months, world leaders will gather in Rio de Janeiro for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, one of the most important meetings of our time. It is of utmost importance, for mankind's sake, that this "Earth Summit" succeed.

As Swedish prime minister I had the honor of being an initiator of the World Summit for Children, which took place in New York in 1990. The far-reaching convention to which leaders there committed their countries must be respected.

The Earth Summit, too, aspires to common nations to common rules and values. In the so-called Stockholm Initiative on Common Security and Global Governance of April 1991, several leaders called on all countries to be imaginative in the post-Cold War era and to create new forms of global leadership.

In what should be the real revolution of our time, we must create a democratic, just and humane world, with equal rights for nations, with equal rights for people. In particular that concerns

our children, who are our future. I ask all those in leadership positions in the United Nations and in Brazil, as host to the Earth Summit, to use their power to fight the injustices that lead to the suffering of the children, and to help support an initiative to that effect being placed before the Earth Summit.

INGVAR CARLSSON, Chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, Stockholm.

Japan: Not a Model for All

Regarding "Japan Wants Strings on Aid" (Business/Finance, March 9):

Your report states that Tokyo is urging the World Bank and other lending agencies to require developing nations to give their governments a more interventionist role in developing their economies as a condition for receiving loans.

As the second-largest contributor to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, Japan is justified in attaching strings or being selective in the bilateral aid it administers directly. But

it must not push the World Bank to adopt leading policies diametrically opposed to those now in force.

Japan's own economic rise has been due less to the government's role in economic policy formulation than to factors including ethnic homogeneity, long workweeks, the commitment of its citizens to consume less than they produce and, above all, relatively free access to Western markets while keeping its own market heavily protected. Japan's experience is of little relevance to developing nations.

India has long used the state to regulate private activity; its economic progress lags behind that of the less interventionist South Korea and Taiwan. Laos, Laos's though the two countries started at the same level in 1960.

Developing countries should look not to Japan but to the American model, allowing the market the freedom to channel sufficient investment into appropriate sectors. Countries like Mexico, Indonesia, Peru, Russia, Vietnam, Ghana, Tanzania and the East European nations are

engaged in real free-market reforms. Japan should not urge them to change now.

M. VASUDEVAN, Cannes.

The Great Foie Gras Case

Regarding the report "French Diet Redax: Hold the Foie Gras" (March 5) and a letter (March 13) from Dr. Marian Apfelbaum in Paris, "French Mystery Persists":

But there is no mystery. Good diet lies in ancestral eating habits with good wines and olive oil. Drink a glass of wine, eat some olives, put your feet up, relax and watch the blue sky. It won't beat Toyota but it will beat heart disease. Et se non è vero è ben trovato...

GERALDINE DALLAS, Paris.

The California nutrition guru Adele Davis, who coined the phrase "You are what you eat," died merely 70 in 1974. I now fear for Dr. Marion Nestle, the New York nutritionist cited in your report as critical of French eating habits. As for me, I will continue to have my

foie gras fix and perhaps will live to a ripe old age. My father just died at 97. I guess he had too much goose liver.

CARL-HORST BRUNE, Edingen, Germany.

As a longtime cholesterol sufferer, I thought I had my problem sorted out, eschewing (although not always very scrupulously) a variety of delicious foods including foie gras. Now I read that, according to the specialist of the day, foie gras and goose fat can be either good or bad for you. In my refrigerator I have stocks of foie gras. May I eat it? Can you tell me?

PETER G. McANDREW, Paris.

Editor's note: Readers with misgivings about his holdings of quality foie gras may send this to the editor for disposal.

It is fun to speculate about differences between French and American dietary habits, but there can be confusion in the statistics. Death rates from cardiovascular diseases in general, including heart attacks and stroke, are

lowest in Japan, France and Switzerland. When it comes to the most lethal category, deaths from coronary heart disease alone, the United States and Australia have the lowest rates among males aged 35 to 74.

Since 1969, the coronary heart disease death rates of Americans and Austrians have fallen by more than half, according to the World Health Organization. The comparable death rates declined in France during the period, but by only 16 percent. So, Messieurs, hold the cheese, and go easy on the red wine.

JAMES MAGEE, Editor, Heart at Risk, Geneva.

Is it really beyond the powers of medical science to clear this matter up? We are told that the French consume more foie gras than they ought to. (More wine and shellfish and butter, too, one supposes.) We are further informed, as I understand it, that the French are fatter than the Americans. There's something fishy in Denmark. OLD CHICAGO GENTLEMAN.

GENERAL NEWS

Friedrich von Hayek, Free-Market Economist, Is Dead at 92

By Sylvia Nasar, New York Times Service

Friedrich von Hayek, an economist and philosopher who championed free-market economics, died Monday in Freiburg, Germany. He was 92 years old.

His most famous work was "The Road to Serfdom" (1944), which predicted that collectivism would fail and warned Europe and the United States of the dangers of socialism and big government.

"It provided a rallying cry for free-market intellectuals during what was for them the dark days of the 1940s," said Edward Crane, president of the Cato Institute, a conservative policy group in the United States. "He proved to be very prescient."

Mr. Hayek was awarded the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Science in 1974 for his work in the 1920s and 1930s on money, prices and business cycles.

A British citizen of Austrian birth who taught at the University of Chicago during the 1950s, Mr. Hayek had lived in Freiburg for nearly three decades.

Stephen Kresge, who is editing his collected works — 18 books, 15 pamphlets and 142 articles — said, "It was one of those ironies that he was widely read in Eastern Europe at a time when he wasn't being read in the West."

Mr. Hayek influenced virtually every prominent free-market economist, from Milton Friedman to George Stigler, as well as providing intellectual fodder for some of the

Reagan administration's young turks, including Martin Anderson, Mr. Reagan's first domestic-policy adviser, and Paul Craig Roberts, assistant secretary of the Treasury for economic policy.

An ardent opponent of most government intervention in the economy, he was all but ignored by other economists for 30 years after World War II, although he was respected for early contributions to monetary theory.

Harry M. Orlinsky, Biblical Scholar

New York Times Service Harry M. Orlinsky, 84, the Effie Wise Ochs Professor of Biblical Literature at Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion,

died of cancer Saturday in Owings Mills, Maryland.

Mr. Orlinsky was a member of a committee that produced the 1952 Revised Standard Version of the Bible, the official Bible of Protestants in America. Mr. Orlinsky was the only Jewish scholar to be invited into the group.

He was asked again to join a translation committee that served as co-authors of the New Revised Standard Version of the Bible, which major Protestant churches introduced in 1990.

Again, Mr. Orlinsky was the only Jewish member of a group made up of the Protestant and Orthodox denominations represented in the National Council of Churches, as well as Roman Catholics.



Mr. von Hayek warned of the dangers of big government.

AMERICAN TOPICS

Enlarging Pentagon As Military Shrinks

Although the U.S. military is scheduled to shrink by at least 25 percent by 1995, the U.S. Defense Department says it wants to refurbish and expand its 50-year-old headquarters at a cost of \$1 billion. The New York Times reports that the 6.5-million-square-foot (\$85,000-square-meter) Pentagon would get a 500,000-square-foot annex on an adjoining parking lot. The project is drawing opposition on Capitol Hill.

Representative John P. Murtha, Democrat of Pennsylvania, who heads the House Appropriations subcommittee that oversees military spending, said, "Building more space when we're reducing people doesn't make any damn sense."

Spokesmen point out that the Defense Department owns only about two-thirds of the 22.4 million square feet of office space it uses in the Washington area, including the Pentagon itself, and leases the remainder. It costs twice as much to rent than to own, they say, and so a bigger headquarters makes sense.

Since the two-story annex would be partly underground and landscaped, the Pentagon would still be pentagon-shaped.

Short Takes

Starting in October, graduate school applicants who take the Graduate Record Examination will have the choice of doing it by pencil or on a computer. The computerized method is being developed for other standardized tests as well, including the Scholastic Aptitude Test for undergraduate admissions, taken by about a million high

AMERICAN TOPICS

About 40 million Americans do crossword puzzles, the Los Angeles Times reports, but "many of the puzzles printed each day are out of touch with new, younger puzzle solvers." Stanley Newman, puzzle editor for Long Island's Newsday, said, "Virtually no one under the age of 50 is doing crosswords." This trend could be reversed, he suggests, if puzzles become more current, clever and humorous. For him, a "bet middle" is a bookie. Words that are encountered nowhere except in crossword puzzles, like air, ara, ore and ret, should be retired, he says, and "there should be almost no words that wouldn't be used in conversation."

The latest attempt to establish a U.S. national repertory theater is Tony Randall's National Actors Theater in Manhattan. "Some theater companies take years to develop and refine a distinctive style, but the National Actors Theater has accomplished this feat in a single season," writes Frank Rich of The New York Times. "The director, whoever he may be, assumes that the classic play at his disposal is near death, or at least though so by the audience, and must be resuscitated by being pounded out by the actors, with waving arms and often at top volume. If the actors stand in place while declaiming you're at a drama. If they are jumping up and down, it's comedy tonight."

People see films at home these days on their video-cassette recorders, Tony Kornheiser writes in The Washington Post. Some children have never seen the inside of a movie house. "I took my kids to see 'Hook' at a theater," he recalls, "and my 5-year-old asked, 'Where'd they get such a big TV?'"

Arthur Higbee

U.S. Accused of Endangering Environment Talks

By Paul Lewis, New York Times Service

UNITED NATIONS, New York — Rich and poor countries attending a five-week conference here said the United States was endangering prospects for the international environmental meeting planned for Rio de Janeiro in June.

These countries said that by refusing to promise more environmental aid to the Third World or to set limits on emissions of gases that contribute to global warming, the United States threatens to sabotage the two most important agreements to be taken up at the Rio meeting.

The purpose of the Rio talks, which are expected to draw thousands of participants from more than 170 countries, is to plan for a world economy that can continue to grow without irreversible ecological damage.

The U.S. stand threatens Agenda 21, an ambitious, international environmental cleanup plan for the next century, because of Third World requests for additional aid and new environmental technologies from industrialized northern countries.

The 12 European Community countries as well as Canada and Scandinavia, are all ready to provide additional aid, but have not committed themselves to specific amounts.

The U.S. reluctance to commit to capping its emissions of "greenhouse" gases at 1990 levels by the year 2000 imperils agreement on the planned new international convention on stabilizing the global climate, which is supposed to be the centerpiece of the Rio agreement.

In an effort to save the separate negotiations on the climate treaty, the United States and about 100 countries have been invited to a meeting in Paris on April 15 in an attempt to resolve the standoff before the final round of negotiations opens in New York on April 30, Portugal, the current president of the European Community, announced Monday.

"It would be a pity if the convention had to be postponed until after Rio," Portugal's representative to the United Nations, Joao Pereira Bastos, said, adding that Europe

would find a U.S.-style convention that did not require detailed commitments unacceptable. In a clear reference to the United States, Mr. Bastos said it would be "a futile exercise" for Europe to press ahead with its own climate stabilization plan unless "other regions" joined in.

Partly because of these disagreements, the conference of more than 170 countries meeting to prepare the agenda for the Rio meeting has entered its fourth week with little progress to report.

But progress is also being

slowed, delegates said, by the breadth and complexity of the agenda because it identifies poverty and its effects as a fundamental environmental threat and says the global environment will only be safe when it has been abolished.

As a result, the conference is bogged down in quarrels over economic and social issues that at first sight seem far removed from the environment, including debt relief, slum clearance, the Uruguay Round of trade talks, and subsidies for northern farmers that block the agricultural exports of poor coun-

tries. Discussing these issues complicates the negotiating process by taking up time and reopening old quarrels between the North and the South.

"With 60 per cent of our time gone, we've only negotiated 5 to 10 percent of the output," Canada's chief delegate, John Bell, who is chairman of the group dealing with financial questions, said last week. "Increased funding for the developing world is absolutely central. It's frustrating we haven't even started negotiations."

Asked about America's reluctance to provide aid, Pakistan's UN representative, Jamshed K. A. Marker, current president of the Group of 77, as the developing countries call themselves, said that he did not wish to single out the policies of any individual countries for public criticism. But he made clear that the developing world remained unhappy with Washington's stance, saying: "Without financial commitments, it is difficult to know how this will all end. That's the biggest stumbling block for the developing world."

Chile's delegate, Vincent Sanchez, said: "This conference could fail. We've agreed on absolutely nothing of real significance so far."

Agenda 21, the 800-page global environmental action plan, lays down new goals and standards in virtually every field.

To carry out their part of this agenda, developing countries say they would require \$70 billion in additional aid each year over the \$55 billion they currently receive from northern industrialized countries.

EC Orders a Cut of Sulfur in Fuels

By Marise Simons, New York Times Service

PARIS — Environmental ministers of the European Community have ordered a sharp cutback in the sulfur content of all diesel and heating oil within two and a half years.

The decision will make the fuel used to heat homes and drive the trucks and buses that crowd European roads cleaner but more expensive.

Sulfur dioxide from coal and oil burning has covered cities with soot, corroded metal and stone, affected people's lungs, and, in acid rain, has damaged nearly 75 percent of Europe's forests.

European officials said the need for cleaner diesel fuel has gained all the more urgency because new studies predicted a trade boom in the coming single European market, which could increase truck traffic and the resulting pollution by as much as 30 percent.

Act requires that sulfur content in fuel be no more than 0.5 percent by October 1993.

The tighter standards will force many European refineries to make large new investments in equipment almost immediately. They will prove particularly costly in the short term to companies in southern Europe, which, in contrast to those in Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands still produce highly polluting fuel oil. Sulfur cuts will also apply to fuel used by vessels.

Once the limits are in effect, Community officials said, they will reduce sulfur emissions by 1 million tons a year.

But the restrictions will not affect about 13 million tons of sulfur a year that are produced by power plants and industrial boilers using oil and coal. This accounts for 13 percent of the world output of sulfur oxides. The United States accounts for close to 21 percent.

The rules still need approval by the European Parliament, which has criticized them as too lenient and wants to move the changes up by another year, to 1993. Some scientists want immediate drastic cuts in all forms of oil and coal burning.

PARIS FASHION

Ungaro's 25th Anniversary

Joyous Colors and Rich Prints in the '90s Mood

By Suzy Menkes  
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — Emanuel Ungaro's head peeped out from a cluster of befeathered models as they celebrated backstage his 25 years in fashion.

"All I want to do is to go on working," said the couturier who had sent out a lively show that received a warm ovation. Fans in the audience were misty-eyed.

"Shocking pink satin pants, embroidered blouse and a cap with a veil," said Marisa Berenson, who was wearing a colorful sunshine-yellow coat and crocodile-leather skirt, and describing her first outfit from Ungaro in the 1970s.

"A Prince of Wales check dress, straight and simple — rather like this coat," said Anouk Aimée, who was once romantically attached to the designer. She was wearing a herringbone tweed coat rigorously cut but with full sleeves.

"Never forget Emanuel's origins as a tailor," said Betty Lagarde, wearing a curvy black suit with colored buttons, and remembering a bright green outfit with flowered blouse that she wore as an Ungaro model in 1972.

Ungaro was true to himself in his joyous colors and rich prints, yet he had tailored his look to the new mood of the 1990s. The evening clothes were still pretty fancy, but simplicity was the keynote of a collection that opened with plain pantsuits in masculine fabrics, softened with flowered blouses. Colors in this fine first show were very quiet, with just a sliver of brightness in the headbands of cloche hats.

THE news was in the jackets, which were cut very long to mid-thigh to balance both just-above-the-knee crystal pleated skirts (a new length) and mid-calf hemlines. In a subtle masculine/feminine twist, pantsuits were shown throughout with high heels and long skirts with flat shoes. Ungaro kept control of color and pattern by throwing a long mandarin-jacket coat over a mole-brown suit, by putting bright jackets against black or beige, or by making outfits in one solid color.

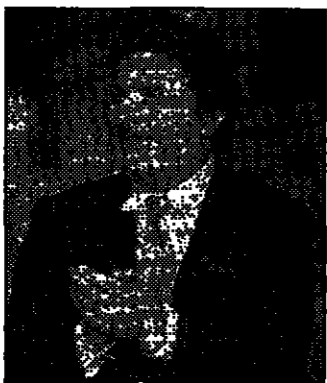
Sonia Knapp's striking prints for Ungaro in the 1970s helped to make his reputation. There was a sophisticated echo of the ethnic spirit in rough-weave fabrics, folklore patterns and paisley motifs, and in the easy-to-move-in long skirts.

All Ungaro's customers emphasize the designer's love of women and his desire to make the most of femininity. The provocative curves that defined his signature swathed dresses in the 1980s had been softened, but there was still some steam: red and black leather, skinny jeans with chinchilla picking out the pockets, and defiantly pert cocktail dresses that contoured the bosom, breaking out in lambswool skirts.

The finale was by far the best of the evening wear: two shocking-pink and emerald-green feather capes came off to reveal black velvet



Ungaro's long folkloric skirts; below, the designer.



check: houndstooth big and bold, with a smaller size for the short skirt.

Black tie benefit? Make it short, make it flirty, curve the bodice, drape that chiffon.

The fashion-to-a-formula worked, because the Renta can cut a good jacket — paneled or braided in velvet. He is good at assembling the current fashion looks, and at cutting a glamorous evening gown.

If the long knitted dresses were drab, the big coats that went over them were a lot of color, especially in sheared mink patterned with bright houndstooth.

"I don't think woman should feel threatened by long skirts," said the designer before the show. There was nothing to scare the client — nor to make the fashion pulse race.

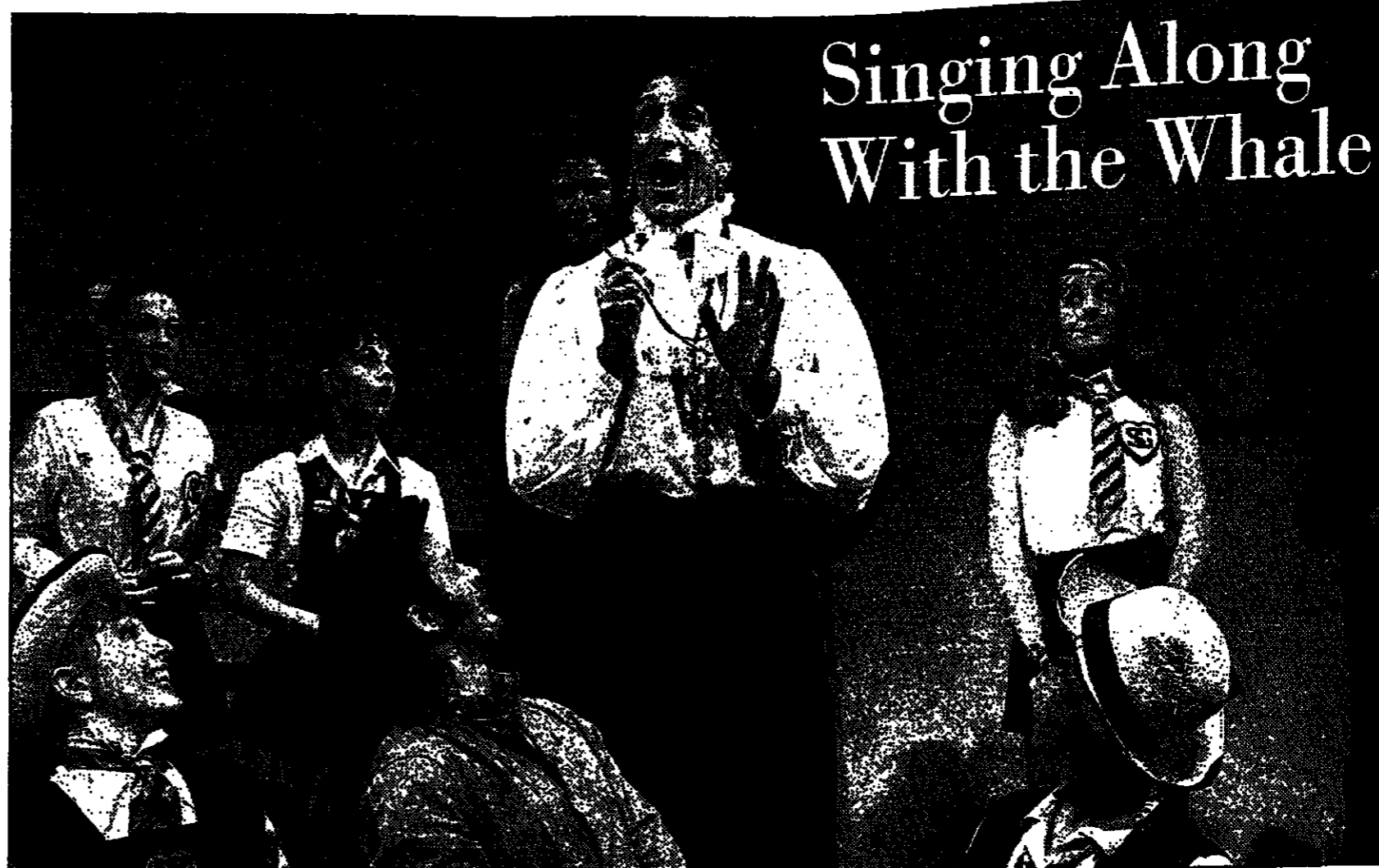
HERMES trotted its thoroughbred, luxurious clothes down the runway like it was a dressage ring. Deluxe double-face wool coats — say olive reversed with emerald, or electric blue backing navy — came over skin-tight jodhpur pants.

Three-button pantsuits were so well-trend they deserved a rosette. Horse-blanket checks made a swirling long skirt. There was hardly a fault, except when the house showed a hooded bolero cape, and an awkward long skirt.

Hermès is good at what it does well, which is satin-soft leather and the ever-inventive silk prints, which this season included a library of leather-bound books and a seascape of rippling water.

This elegant parade might have broken into a gallop if Hermès had put naughty black leather pants — this season's hot item — under the well-behaved riding jackets.

Uptown lunch? So here's the



At the Piccadilly in London, Tony Monopoly plays the headmistress of a girl's school putting on a musical version of "Moby Dick."

By Sheridan Morley  
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — "Moby Dick" at the Piccadilly has been roundly abused by most of my colleagues but may turn out to be one of those musicals everybody hates except the public. Though far from perfect, it has a kind of daft energy, and promises to become the "Rocky Horror Show" of the high seas. In a time of weary Hollywood facsimiles like "Some Like It Hot" or fiascos like "Matador" and "Bernadette," we should at least be willing to welcome something as strangely inventive as a great white whale sing-along.

The origins of this Robert Longden-Hereward Kaye score seem to lie not so much in Herman Melville as in those St. Trinian's movies of the 1950s for which Alastair Sim would haul himself into cocktail dresses and high heels to play headmistresses in extremis. Here it is a girl's school in deep economic trouble, staging a fund-raising dramatization of "Moby Dick" in the empty swimming pool. Several of the cast are men

playing girls, one or two are men playing girls playing men, and the rest are just girls. Occasionally they all group together to play the Whale, which is no stranger than the dancers who last year had to be the Bull in "Matador" and about as funny. Only a vintage cabaret singer called Tony Monopoly

Harrison gave what was, after Professor Higgins, the performance of his career as Shogover, in a production also starring Diana Rigg and Rosemary Harris. Trevor Nunn now challenges that memory with a still starker cast: Vanessa Redgrave and Felicity Kendal are the daughters, Daniel Massey the ineffectual Hector Hushabye and Imogen Stubbs the innocent abroad Ellie Dunn.

True, the play itself (modestly described by Shaw as "my King Lear") remains something of a problem. GBS seems to have intended also to write the English "Cherry Orchard," since he subtitled it "a fantasia in the Russian manner on English themes," but then to have come up with an Edwardian "Hay Fever" in which several strangers arrive at a country house to be roundly insulted and embarrassed by its residents, presided over by the ancient mariner figure of Shogover Shaw, trying to make some sort of sense of the unwholly middle of World War I.

When the last act apocalypse comes, with bombs raining from the skies, we are left uncertain whether to cheer or mourn. But along the way are some superb moments, most of them Scofield's. Trevor Nunn is to

be congratulated for getting him back into a major role, and more on getting from Vanessa Redgrave the first restrained, intelligent and unembarrassing performance she has given on stage these many years.

At Wyndham's, Jimmie Chinn's "Straight and Narrow" is a new play that looks at times like the pilot for a yet-unnamed television situation comedy. Its star and narrator is Nicholas Lyndhurst, himself the veteran of several tele-sitcoms, who amiably leans against the side of the proscenium arch to tell us a gentle tale about going on holiday with his gay friend (Neil Darghish), only to have the friend leave him on the beach for a new alliance with a woman.

But at the heart of this domestic battle is Lyndhurst's mother, Carmel McSharry, who has steadfastly refused to believe that her son is gay, let alone that his friend is too. It is only at the end, when she and her son are left face to face with the realization that there is no family secret except their inability to articulate it, that an otherwise pleasant little caper catches fire. In that moment, both Lyndhurst and McSharry are infinitely touching. Allan Davis directs.

LONDON THEATER

has quite the right manic lunacy, though I did grow kind of fond of a sailor given to impersonating Judy Garland in times of maritime crisis. An oddball evening.

Insofar as there is ever much of a debate about the heart and soul of Britain as a nation, it might be expected to take place during election campaigns. That the current campaign is signally lacking in such debate makes it all the better that we have "Heart-break House" at the Haymarket.

Paul Scofield is now George Bernard Shaw's Captain Shotover, the mad old sea dog howling like some benign Prospero over a British isle that is still full of noises but no longer so very magical.

Ten years ago, on the same stage, Rex

Jim Robinson, Naugahyde Guy in Hollywood

By Kim Masters  
Washington Post Service

LOS ANGELES — Something about Jim Robinson says "car dealer." He isn't very tall. His face is pink broad and square. He looks mischievous, ready to wheel and deal. His left eyebrow rises and the right side of his mouth curls a little. He wears, yes, a gold chain. You can't see it when he goes out to do business, though, because he always puts on a tie and jacket for those occasions. But he's Jim Robinson, so we're not talking Armbruster. "A Naugahyde guy," says one studio chairman.

"A good old boy from Baltimore," says another nattily dressed movie mogul.

Oh, how Hollywood loves to underestimate Robinson.

"I have problems with people who all of a sudden are in the movie business," says a veteran producer. In fact, Robinson has been around for years, having first made his fortune in cars — selling them, soup-thing them up, transporting them, you name it — from his home base in Maryland.

But let them talk. Last summer, Robinson's company, Morgan Creek Productions, clobbered two big studios at their own game by grabbing Kevin Costner and making "Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves" before they could get their versions off the ground. Before that, Robinson's company made "Young Guns" and "Major League" for money; and "Dead Ringers" and "Enemies: A Love Story" for love.

That's a mix of profit and prestige that would delight any studio executive. But it hasn't been enough to get Robinson anointed a

"player." And with his turbo-charged ego, it bugs him a little — as much as you can get bugged when you're counting a pile of money. At least \$350 million in grosses on "Robin Hood" worldwide — "so much damn money, I swear to Christ I didn't think anybody could make that much money out of a movie," Robinson boasts.

That and an Oscar nomination for Best Song.

He's done what he set out to do. When he came to Hollywood, he says, he was "absolutely determined not to be a schlemiel, not to blow good money on bad deals. He didn't want to get sucked in and used up, like so many well-tanned burnouts who do lunch at Jimmy's and talk about projects that won't happen.

"This isn't Towson, Maryland," he says, sitting at his unpretentious desk in his Century City office. "People are more intense here, but

this is it. It doesn't get any better. It might be a fast track, it might be a tough track, but this is where it happens."

If anything is going to hurt Jim Robinson, it's his Jim Robinson — with his absolute, positive certainty that he's figured it out, completed his studies, knows what he's doing. Knows what you're doing. And can do it better.

Kevin Reynolds can tell you how it is. The director of "Robin Hood," as it happens, never saw the completed film. He and Robinson tangled during production and finally Robinson shoved him aside and changed the locks on the editing-room door. "It's something I've just tried to put behind me," Reynolds says now. "It was so nightmarish. They just came and took the film away."

Robinson says it wasn't so bad — bracing, maybe, but fun. "It was like going down the tracks and building the locomotive as you go along," he says.

In 1987, Robinson teamed up with Joe Roth, a young producer. Robinson founded Morgan Creek, named for a lumpy Preston Sturges comedy, "The Miracle of Morgan's Creek," and Roth got credit for every creative decision the company made. Roth was the charismatic one, the filmmaker, the talent masher. Robinson wrote the checks.

In 1989, Roth became chairman of 20th Century-Fox. "No, I did not want him to leave," Robinson says. "But how many lawyers would say, 'I don't want to be a Supreme Court justice'? Man, that's it."

Once Roth left Morgan Creek, everyone watched to see how Robinson would manage. He started out by scorching Roth — starting his "Robin Hood" project while Fox labored to get its version under way. That caused some friction, which both men say has been resolved. Fox wasn't the only studio left gasping — Columbia had a Robin Hood project going too. Robinson is gleeful: "It was the ultimate chutzpah. We backed the system. We basically bucked two studios, and won."

THE next book, however, he lost. "Freejack," the futuristic fantasy that brought Mick Jagger back to the big screen, flopped. Hollywood licked its chops over the rumored \$30-million-plus failure.

"It didn't play as well as I would have liked," Robinson says. "In fact, didn't play well at all." The movie was relatively expensive — in part because 40 percent of what's on the screen is re-shoots; efforts to fix the film cost upward of \$3.5 million. Robinson admits that. But as for the rumor that he blew all the "Robin Hood" profits on "Freejack," that makes him nuts.

"I'm going to spend some time educating you," he fumes. "How can they say that? Does anyone know how much money I made on 'Robin Hood'? It's playing like hell all over the world. What am I going to make off 'Robin Hood'? An awful lot of money."

Bottom line: "I could do four 'Freejacks' and still have money left over from 'Robin Hood.'"

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Table of restaurant listings for Paris 15th, 17th, and 18th arrondissements, including names like Le Western, Al Goldenberg, and Chez Fred.

New House for Old Troupe

By Thomas Quinn Curtiss  
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — The Comédie Française will finally take over the Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier next season as the company's second theater, after the prolonged renovation of the historic, 350-seat Left Bank house.

Jacques Lassalle, administrator of the Comédie Française, said he

would direct the company's initial offering at the Vieux-Colombier in March 1993, an evening of two plays by Nathalie Sarraute, "Le Silence" and "Elle est là."

The company will have five new productions in its main theater: Sophocles' "Antigone," Carlo Goldoni's "La Serva amorosa," Molière's "L'Impromptu de Versailles," Balzac's "Le Faiseur," and "Le Prix Martin," by Eugène Labiche and Emile Augier.

Solution to Puzzle of March 24

Table with crossword puzzle solutions for March 24, including words like ACROSS, DOWN, and their corresponding answers.

Table with crossword puzzle solutions for March 24, including words like ACROSS, DOWN, and their corresponding answers.

MEDIA M

A Plan to Jolts an A... Review has... where censorship of... available sources of... But in more recent... writing and permanent... reputation outside its... and circulation in the... Asian markets have re... fit of just around to... English-language pub... in the region.

M. R. CROVITZ... Review has... where censorship of... available sources of... But in more recent... writing and permanent... reputation outside its... and circulation in the... Asian markets have re... fit of just around to... English-language pub... in the region.

CURRENCY

Table of currency exchange rates for various countries and currencies.

INTEREST RA

Table of interest rates for various financial instruments and banks.



MEDIA MARKETS

A Plan to Change Editors Jolts an Asian Institution

By Laurence Zuckerman

HONG KONG — For years the Far Eastern Economic Review has been known as the pre-eminent publication of Asian politics and business.

But in more recent times, the weekly's sometimes opaque writing and permanently furrowed editorial brow have earned it a reputation outside its loyal core of readers for being more respected than actually read.

'The fear is that the Review will lose its identity as an iconoclastic publication.'

The naming of a new editor late last week will test whether its owner, Dow Jones & Co. of the United States, can turn around the magazine's fortunes without losing its unique franchise and its seasoned editorial staff.

The change has already stirred controversy. Although Dow Jones executives pointed the move as a routine rotation, sources at the magazine have made clear that the editor, Philip Bowring, was forced out.

His successor, who will take over May 1, is L. Gordon Crovitz, a member of the editorial board of The Wall Street Journal, Dow Jones's U.S. flagship newspaper, and its legal columnist.

Mr. Crovitz, 49, began writing for the 46-year-old Review in 1972 and was named editor in 1988. One of his distant granduncles was an early caregiver of Hong Kong, and Mr. Bowring, who is British, cares deeply about the colony and Asia in general.

Mr. Crovitz, a 33-year-old American, is a former Rhodes Scholar at Oxford and has a law degree from Yale University and a string of journalism awards for commentary. But he has no experience reporting or writing about Asia and, apart from a brief stint as editorial page editor of the Journal's European edition, little experience as a manager.

Many on the magazine's staff, which has coveted its independence from the corporate parent in New York, expressed consternation at the choice of an editorialist to lead the magazine and voiced concern that Mr. Crovitz, who is known for his trenchant, conservative editorials at the Journal, might violate the magazine's tradition of eschewing ideology.

'The fear here is that the Review will lose its identity as an iconoclastic publication,' said a staff member who, like others, asked not to be identified.

In an address to the staff last week at his appointment, Mr. Crovitz made light of his lack of expertise in Asia and attempted to reassure the staff that wholesale changes were not in the offing. But he did say he would be looking to attract younger readers and to make the magazine more compelling to people whose native language is not English.

'We are going to make changes in the Review,' Mr. Crovitz told the staff. 'Not all the changes will come easily. Inevitably, not everyone will agree with all the changes. But in the end we will have a better magazine.'

Change apparently would be welcomed by the advertising community. 'It's a bit of a dinosaur,' said Gary Brown, executive media director at Leo Burnett in Hong Kong. 'It is not very user-

CURRENCY RATES

Table with columns for Currency, Par \$, and various rate categories like Gross Rates and Forward Rates.

INTEREST RATES

Table with columns for Eurocurrency Deposits and Key Money Rates.

Table with columns for Asian Dollar Deposits and U.S. Money Market Funds.

Table with columns for GOLD prices.

Stances Harden in German Pay Dispute

By Richard E. Smith

FRANKFURT — Germany's public-sector union told its 4 million members Tuesday to prepare for a possible strike as positions hardened in spite of growing calls for moderation by a worried government.

The union's move coincided with the release of the most recent assessment of the economy by Economics Minister Jürgen Möllemann, who said that labor could well decide whether the ailing economy rebounded this year or continued to stagnate.

Union leadership in Stuttgart, unimpressed by recent warnings from Chancellor Helmut Kohl to temper their demands, raised the stakes on Tuesday with its strongest statement to date by telling members to "arm themselves for all possible contingencies in the near future."

On Monday, the talks had broken down, with employers offering wage increases of 3.5 percent and the union demanding 9.5 percent. The union could call for a strike ballot in six weeks after a mandatory cooling-off period.

Strikes by public-sector workers would affect public transport and many medical services.

Wage talks by metalworkers and bank personnel also failed to produce any breakthroughs on Tuesday.

In his monthly report on the economy, Mr. Möllemann singled out unions as a key to any economic turnaround. He said that the talks could determine whether "the forces of growth again gain the upper hand in the course of this year."

Meanwhile, the Bundesbank announced that a key money-supply barometer grew at a

worrisome rate of 8.5 percent in February, far above the bank's desired ceiling of 5.5 percent. The rate, only slightly lower than the January rate of 9 percent, signaled strong underlying inflationary pressures.

The combination of a sputtering economy and uncharacteristically high inflation has left Germany struggling with a form of stagflation, while the costs of reunification look set to cause unusual strains for some time.

The resulting tensions have paved the way for rising criticism of the ruling coalition's economic program from the opposition Social Democrats.

On Tuesday, Oskar Lafontaine, former candidate for the chancellorship, accused Mr. Kohl of "deceiving voters" with promises that it would not raise taxes or cut social services in spite of the rising bill for reunification.

Chrysler's Prospects Bode Well for Eaton

By Doron P. Levin

DETROIT — If Robert J. Eaton had joined Chrysler Corp. just a year ago, he would have been signing up to rescue a sinking ship. But in just the last two months Chrysler's prospects suddenly seem brighter.

With \$861 million of new equity raised in February, a slew of new models about to roll into showrooms and layers of corporate fat sliced away, America's No. 3 automaker appears poised for yet another of its comebacks.

In other words, the task of Mr. Eaton, formerly the head of General Motors' European operations, is to keep several good things going at Chrysler.

By the time he becomes chairman and chief executive on Jan. 1, he must swiftly head off any political infighting, assemble his own team from Chrysler's cadres and reassure bankers and credit-rating agencies that the carmaker is truly on the mend.

Falling any of these tasks could be fatal, for Chrysler finally has some momentum after four years of declining profit, and a loss last year, as well as a bitter and divisive two-year power struggle as the company tried to find a successor to Lee A. Iacocca.

That struggle could reignite at any moment if Mr. Eaton is unable to assert his leadership and reconcile factions.

"Chrysler managers have been working extremely well together for the past two years, like a championship basketball team," said Ronald A. Glantz, automotive analyst for Dean Witter Reynolds in San Francisco. "I worry how a new star player will affect the chemistry."

Most important, Mr. Eaton must learn to manage the fragile chemistry among himself, Mr. Iacocca and Robert A. Lutz, Chrysler's president and the man passed over for Mr. Iacocca's job, who says he plans to stay at the company.

David E. Davis, editor of Automotive magazine, said: "I think Lutz and Eaton can make it work.

But it remains to be seen if Iacocca will let them."

He added: "A real determined effort has to be made to stamp out all the backbiting. There's still blood in the water where Lutz is concerned."

Although Mr. Eaton was a highly regarded engineering executive at GM, he had relatively little experience as an operating executive deeply involved in making and selling cars day-to-day. Nor does he have deep experience in sales, marketing or finance.

Analysts point out that GM's success in Europe was well under way by the time Mr. Eaton arrived,

thanks to John F. Smith Jr., GM's executive vice president in charge of international operations.

Under GM's European management system, Mr. Eaton worked for four years with a small staff in Zurich on strategy, separated from the operating decisions made at GM's Adam Opel headquarters in Germany and the Vauxhall Motors unit in Britain.

Initially, until Mr. Iacocca departs, he and Mr. Lutz will both have a hand in the sales and marketing of Chrysler's newest models. The Jeep Grand Cherokee, a full-

Sales of U.S.-Made Cars Plunge

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

DETROIT — The U.S. auto industry's recovery took a detour in mid-March as sales of North American made cars and trucks fell 2.7 percent, major automakers reported Tuesday.

The three U.S. and seven Japanese carmakers with assembly plants in the United States sold 276,889 cars and trucks during March 11-20, compared with 284,482 vehicles a year earlier.

analysts said the overall decline — to an annual rate of about 5.8 million vehicles — underscored the fragile state of the industry's recovery.

General Motors Corp. said car sales slipped 6.1 percent to 77,954 and light truck sales skidded 12.6 percent to 38,305 in the period. Ford Motor Co. said car sales fell 5.4 percent to 46,573 units while light truck sales rose 1.6 percent to 38,389.

In contrast, Toyota Motor Corp. said sales of North American built cars and trucks jumped 51.8 percent, to 11,399.

Berlusconi Drops Plan To Bail Out La Cinq

By Reuters

PARIS — The Italian businessman Silvio Berlusconi abandoned Tuesday a rescue bid for La Cinq, the troubled French television station, accusing French authorities of sabotaging his efforts.

Mr. Berlusconi's withdrawal means the station, launched in 1985 as France's first experiment in private television, is likely to face liquidation, said a staff representative, Frederic Desart.

He said the court-appointed administrator, Hubert Lafont, told a staff meeting on Tuesday that the station had funds to run only until April 3.

The French media concern Hachette SA, the channel's operator, which holds 25 percent, has refused to cover its losses. Mr. Berlusconi estimated La Cinq's liabilities at 3.6 billion francs (\$638 million).

Mr. Berlusconi, whose Reteitalia SpA also has a 25 percent stake in La Cinq, blamed his pullout in a letter to Mr. Lafont on "the particularly unfriendly attitude of the Treasury and the banks."

He said he had encountered "obstacles which made clear that pressure had been brought to bear" to prevent him from putting together a rescue package.

In February, shareholders approved in principle a two-stage, 1.5 billion-franc capital increase proposed by Mr. Berlusconi, who was the co-founder of La Cinq and controls Italy's largest private television networks. But he subsequently could not find enough allies to finance the capital operation.

The La Cinq staff, which has mounted a public campaign to save

the station, said the French government had put pressure on French, German and Italian banks not to join the rescue.

The conservative opposition politician Alain Madelin demanded that the government explain why "an essential element in the French audiovisual landscape" was being suppressed.

In a statement, he denounced what he called "government maneuvers and pressures exerted at all levels to bring about Silvio Berlusconi's withdrawal."

The Paris Trade Court is to make a decision on the future of the insolvent network on April 3.

France is poised for a sound, if unimpressive, economic recovery, independent economists said Tuesday after news that the nation had posted its third trade surplus in five months and that consumer spending had risen.

"Exports have held up well," said Bernard Godegnon, an economist at Nomura Research Institute. "So have imports. And consumer spending on manufactured goods has been strong for two months."

Seasonally adjusted data from the national statistics office showed that French imports totaled 103.4 billion francs in February, up 3.2 percent on the month though slightly below the last 12 months' average. Exports also rose, resulting in a 407 million franc trade surplus.

Other data showed that French consumers have been spending more on manufactured goods, especially items like televisions, video recorders and cars.

Official Economist Urges Wider Overhaul in China

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BEIJING — China should float its currency and open up the retail, transport, banking and insurance industries to foreigners, the cabinet's top economist said Tuesday in the clearest explanation to date of Beijing's new push for an overhaul.

Ma Hong, research director for the State Council, was quoted by the official press as saying the economy must be internationalized and "leftist" thinking halted.

His remarks came as Prime Minister Li Peng was quoted by the official Xinhua news agency as urging China to "absorb what proved effective in capitalist countries." Mr. Li, known as an economic conservative who favors strong central planning, called for stepping up China's stock-market experiment.

Mr. Ma said changes that concentrated only on attracting foreign investment in the manufacturing sector did not go far enough. "Foreign-exchange rates should be adjusted so as to institute a free-exchange system," Xinhua quoted him as saying. Senior officials have all backed calls by China's paramount leader, Deng Xiaoping, for faster economic change during the current meeting of the National People's Congress, China's parliament. Mr. Ma's comments provided some of the first concrete cues as to what changes Beijing may have in mind.

Nestlé Clinches Deal on Perrier For \$2.7 Billion

By Roger Cohen

PARIS — After Europe's toughest international corporate battle in several years, the Swiss food giant Nestlé SA won control Tuesday of Source Perrier SA and so gained an important stake in the world's expanding and highly profitable mineral-water business.

The Agnelli family of Italy, which has battled Nestlé over the past three months, gave up the fight as part of an accord under which the Swiss corporation, allied with Banque Indosuez, sweetened its offer for Perrier to 15.3 billion francs (\$2.7 billion), from 13.3 billion francs.

The Agnelli group, which holds 39.9 percent of Perrier's principal holding company, Eror SA, agreed to tender Eror's 35.5 percent stake in the mineral-water company to Nestlé. At the same time, the parties agreed to open the way for the Agnellis to take majority control of Eror, whose other assets include extensive real estate in central Paris and the renowned Château Margaux wine business.

"It's a good deal in which there are no losers," said Reto Domeniconi, Nestlé's general director. Analysts agreed that the accord was balanced in that it provided Nestlé with a powerful position in a fast-growing sector and the Agnellis with a substantial profit, estimated at more than \$200 million, as well as assets whose value seems likely to rise.

The Agnellis, who have traditionally shunned such high-profile takeover battles, seemed relieved that the matter had been resolved. "This could all have been settled in an afternoon a very long time ago," said Giovanni Agnelli, the chairman of the family's main business, Fiat SpA. "But I had partners and I believe in listening to one's partners in business."

The chief partner was the Perrier chairman, Jacques Vincent, who long opposed any settlement until recent court verdicts slashed the holdings of the Agnelli camp in Perrier and opened the way for Nestlé.

The transaction will make Nestlé

the world's largest mineral-water company.

John Graham, a food industry analyst at UBS/Phillips & Drew, estimated that water would now account for about 5 percent of the company's sales, compared with its approximately 1 percent share of Nestlé's \$50.1 billion sales last year.

"That is an attractive development for Nestlé, because the water business is growing at 8 to 10 percent a year worldwide," he said. "Moreover, profit margins are in the 15 to 20 percent range, compared with 10 percent for other food businesses."

Philippe Veron, president of Nestlé France, said one or two of the company's officers would soon begin a thorough examination of Perrier's business aimed at maximizing its potential. Among Nestlé's aims will be the restoration of Perrier's business in the United States, which never recovered from the sales loss stemming from the discovery of traces of benzene in the water two years ago.

Apart from its flagship brand, Perrier's mineral waters include Arrowhead and Poland Springs in the United States, Ashbourne and Buxton Spring in Britain, and Vichy and Contrevalle in France.

The company has an estimated 20 percent share of the world mineral-water market.

As part of the accord, Nestlé has agreed to sell one of Perrier's brands, Volvic, to the leading French food group BSN for about 3.1 billion francs. This arrangement, which will leave the French water market dominated by Nestlé and BSN, has yet to be approved by the European Community's antitrust authorities.

Nestlé may also sell the Caves de Roquefort cheese business, although it has guaranteed that this will remain in French hands. Analysts believe Perrier's 56 percent stake in Roquefort may be worth as much as 700 million francs.

After the Volvic sale, and the likely disposal of Roquefort, it is estimated that Perrier will cost Nestlé about 23 times the mineral-

See PERRIER, Page 9

BANKS WERE ESTABLISHED TO PROTECT DEPOSITORS' FUNDS. IT'S STILL OUR MOST IMPORTANT MISSION.



Throughout history, man has sought to safeguard the things he values. It was true in the Middle Ages, when banking institutions emerged to shelter the wealth created by an expanding market economy. It's equally true now. Today, however, safety isn't a matter of having the biggest strongbox or the heaviest padlock. In today's fluid world, safety is tied to prudent policies, a strong balance sheet and a conservative banking philosophy. Those are the very qualities that have made Republic National Bank one of the safest institutions in the world. We're a subsidiary of Safra Republic Holdings S.A., with US\$1.1 billion in total capital. Our asset quality and capital ratios are among the strongest in the industry. And our dedication to protecting depositors' funds is unmatched anywhere. This philosophy has led to solid growth. In the past four years, our group's client assets have increased 400% and now exceed US\$8 billion. So, while much has changed since the Middle Ages, safety is still a depositor's most important concern. And it's still our most important mission.

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MARKET DIARY

Weak Auto Sales Depress Stocks

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches NEW YORK — Reports of sagging auto sales helped send stock prices lower Tuesday on the New York Stock Exchange in an otherwise uneventful session.

The Dow Jones industrial average, which slipped 4.25 points, fell 11.18 to 3,260.96. Volume was about 192 million shares, up from 157 million.

Dollar Little Changed As Market Turns Calm

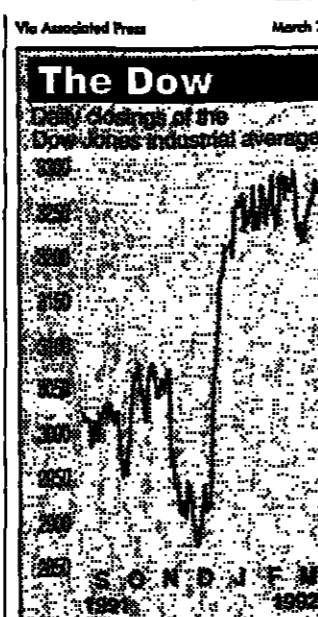
NEW YORK — The dollar finished mixed Tuesday in slow trading as the market awaited fresh direction from economic data.

"This week is starting out extraordinarily dull," said John Lyman of the Bank of Tokyo. But in his view,

The dollar ended at 1.6638 Deutsche marks, down slightly from 1.6667 on Monday. But it edged up to 133.550 yen, from 133.425.

The dollar started firmly, thanks to a drop in Tokyo stocks, warnings from Mikhail S. Gorbachev about disintegration in the Commonwealth of Independent States and fears over a radioactive leak at a Russian nuclear power station.

The dollar ended at 1.5145 Swiss francs, after 1.5140, and at 5.6550 after 5.6475. The pound dipped to 1.7185 from 1.7205.



NYSE Most Active

Table with columns: Vol., High, Low, Last, Chg. Lists top active stocks like AT&T, IBM, and General Electric.

NYSE Diary

Table with columns: Advanced, Declined, Unchanged, Total Issues, New Issues. Shows market activity for NYSE.

AMEX Diary

Table with columns: Advanced, Declined, Unchanged, Total Issues, New Issues. Shows market activity for AMEX.

NASDAQ Diary

Table with columns: Advanced, Declined, Unchanged, Total Issues, New Issues. Shows market activity for NASDAQ.

Dow Jones Averages

Table with columns: Index, High, Low, Prev. Close, Chg. Lists Dow Jones Industrial Average, S&P 500, etc.

Standard & Poor's Index

Table with columns: Index, High, Low, Prev. Close, Chg. Lists S&P 500, Industrial, etc.

NYSE Indexes

Table with columns: Index, High, Low, Prev. Close, Chg. Lists NYSE Composite, Industrial, etc.

NASDAQ Indexes

Table with columns: Index, High, Low, Prev. Close, Chg. Lists NASDAQ Composite, Industrial, etc.

AMEX Stock Index

Table with columns: Index, High, Low, Prev. Close, Chg. Lists AMEX Composite, Industrial, etc.

Dow Jones Bond Averages

Table with columns: Bond, High, Low, Prev. Close, Chg. Lists 30 Bonds, 10 Utilities, etc.

Market Sales

Table with columns: NYSE 4 p.m. volume, NYSE 4 p.m. volume, etc. Shows trading volume.

N.Y.S.E. Odd-Lot Trading

Table with columns: Buy, Sell, Short. Shows odd-lot trading statistics.

To Our Readers

London International Financial Futures Exchange prices and SPI00 index options were not available Tuesday due to problems at the source.

EUROPEAN FUTURES

Table with columns: Class, High, Low, Prev. Close, Chg. Lists European futures like S&P 500, DAX, etc.

Food

Table with columns: Commodity, High, Low, Prev. Close, Chg. Lists food futures like Soybeans, Corn, etc.

Industrials

Table with columns: Commodity, High, Low, Prev. Close, Chg. Lists industrial futures like Aluminum, Nickel, etc.

Spot Commodities

Table with columns: Commodity, Today, Prev. Lists spot commodity prices.

Dividends

Table with columns: Company, Dividend, Yield, Ex-Dividend Date. Lists dividend-paying stocks.

Metals

Table with columns: Metal, High, Low, Prev. Close, Chg. Lists metal futures like Gold, Silver, etc.

Grains

Table with columns: Grain, High, Low, Prev. Close, Chg. Lists grain futures like Wheat, Corn, etc.

Oil

Table with columns: Oil, High, Low, Prev. Close, Chg. Lists oil futures like Crude Oil, Heating Oil, etc.

Stocks

Table with columns: Stock, High, Low, Prev. Close, Chg. Lists European stock futures.

Financial

Table with columns: Financial, High, Low, Prev. Close, Chg. Lists financial futures like Treasury Bonds, etc.

Livestock

Table with columns: Livestock, High, Low, Prev. Close, Chg. Lists livestock futures like Hogs, Cattle, etc.

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CHRYSLER: No. 3 Carmaker's Prospects Bode Well for New Chairman

(Continued from first finance page) size, four-wheel-drive, four-door wagon, which is scheduled to be introduced in April in New York, promises to provide stiff competition for the popular Ford Explorer utility vehicle.

World Stock Markets

Table with columns: Market, High, Low, Prev. Close, Chg. Lists world stock market indices.

World Stock Markets (Continued)

Table with columns: Market, High, Low, Prev. Close, Chg. Lists world stock market indices.

World Stock Markets (Continued)

Table with columns: Market, High, Low, Prev. Close, Chg. Lists world stock market indices.

U.S. / AT THE CLOSE

O&Y Names Ex-Banker President

NEW YORK (Combined Dispatches)—Olympia & York Development Co. on Tuesday named a former banker as president and chief executive officer.

Chicago Casino Complex Is Proposed

CHICAGO (UPI)—Three of the biggest names in the gambling industry proposed Tuesday a \$2 billion casino complex in downtown Chicago, promising billions of dollars in economic benefits.

Orion Network Plans Public Offering

WASHINGTON (Reuters)—Orion Network Systems Inc., a communications company that leads a multinational consortium formed in January, filed Tuesday with the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission for the initial public offering of up to 3 million common shares.

Carloco Announces Fresh Financing

LOS ANGELES (Reuters)—Carloco Pictures Inc. announced Tuesday a restructuring under which it will get up to \$73.8 million in new financing.

Microsoft to Acquire Fox Software

SEATTLE (Reuters)—Microsoft Corp. plans to buy Fox Software Inc., a maker of data-base software for personal computers, in a stock swap worth about \$175 million, the companies announced Tuesday.

IBM Unveils 2 Notebook Computers

WHITE PLAINS, N.Y. (Combined Dispatches)—International Business Machines Corp. on Tuesday introduced two new notebook computers.

TO OUR READERS IN BUDAPEST

Hand delivery of the IHT is now available on the day of publication. Call today: 175-7735

U.S. FUTURES

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Lackin advertisement with text: 'By Alan... MADRID... With...'

Advertisement for 'REVIEW: I' with text: 'Continued from first finance...'

Advertisement for 'TO OUR READERS IN GERMANY' with text: 'is never been...'

Advertisement for 'NASD' with text: 'NASDAQ...'

Advertisement for 'Stock Indexes' with text: '(Indices compiled shortly before market close)'

Advertisement for 'Commodity Indexes' with text: 'Commodity Indexes...'

Advertisement for 'Market Guide' with text: 'Market Guide...'

# Lacking Readers, Spanish Papers Fold

By Alan Riding  
New York Times Service

MADRID — With the Spanish economy booming and advertising jumping as much as 25 percent a year, Spanish and foreign business groups scrambled in the late 1980s to start up newspapers, unconcerned that Spaniards have never been avid newspaper readers.

Now, with an economic slowdown hurting advertising, the tide has turned. Last week, after less than two years on the stands, El Sol became the third Spanish newspaper to close in eight months, and several others are desperately seeking partners to keep going.

The owner of El Sol, the media businessman German Sanchez Ruitierrez, announced the closing after negotiations to find fresh capital fell through, although the daily's soon-to-be-jobless journalists have pledged to put out a thin issue without ads until their newspaper runs out.

Without a large circulation, El Sol and, a few months earlier, El Independiente failed because they could not compete for shrinking advertising revenues. And their wealthy backers tired of footing the bill.

A more striking failure is that of Claro, a sensationalist tabloid founded last year by a joint venture of the Springer group of Germany and Prensa Espanola of Spain, which owns the conservative daily ABC. Claro closed after just three months, with a reported loss of around \$130 million.

It had set out to capture a new market of low-income readers by offering them "gossip-and-girls" fare in a format modeled after Springer's highly successful German newspaper, Bild Zeitung. At one point, it was printing 600,000 copies daily, but soon only a tenth of that was being sold.

"In Germany and Britain, the working classes read," one Spanish journalist said. "But

45 percent of the stock, and The Guardian of Britain, with 11 percent.

The clear victor in this press war has been El Pais, which continues to flourish as the newspaper with the largest circulation and the most influence in Spain, even though other press barons had set their sights on toppling it from its throne.

Indeed, as much as El Pais's solid circulation, it was the political power enjoyed by its principal owner, Jesus de Polanco, that made the daily the envy of other Spanish business groups. "There were some immensely wealthy people who didn't feel important until they had a newspaper," one industry specialist said.

The recent newspaper failures, however, have generally not had a big impact on the finances of their backers. For example, as owner of the Anaya Group, the largest book publisher in Spain, Mr. Sanchez Ruitierrez remains enormously wealthy despite his investment of an estimated \$70 million in El Sol. In other cases, financial losses have been written off as good political investments.

The demise of El Sol is nonetheless a clear signal that the shine has gone off the Spanish newspaper market. ABC, for instance, has to cut costs to compensate for the losses it suffered in Claro. Diario 16 is looking for a suitable buyer. And La Vanguardia, the respected Barcelona newspaper, has recently had to take in Benesto as a partner.

**'In Germany and Britain, the working classes read. There is no tradition of popular press here.'**  
A Spanish journalist

there is no tradition of popular press here. In the past, the masses never read. Then, just as they were becoming literate, television came along, so they will probably never read."

Of the new general newspapers, only El Mundo has survived, with daily sales of around 140,000 thanks to its strong anti-government stance. Founded by a group of journalists, it now has as partners the Italian newspaper Corriere della Serra, which owns

## REVIEW: Planned Change of Editors Jolts Magazine

(Continued from first finance page)  
friendly, but it does attract a strong readership. It needs to bring itself into the '80s, let alone the '90s.

Under Dow Jones, that change, and increased earnings, have been slow in coming, though the magazine has recently added color and adopted a more attractive layout.

The company's first acquired 40 percent of the magazine for \$500,000 in 1973. It later increased its stake to 49 percent in 1975, and then purchased the remaining 51 percent from News Corp. for \$25.1 million in 1987.

In 1987, advertising revenues were about \$13 million a year and the magazine made a net profit of "well over a million dollars," according to an industry source. In

1991, according to the Rome report, an industry tally of advertising pages, the magazine's revenues had declined to \$12.7 million. Over the same period, the magazine's market shares in circulation and advertising declined, while competitors such as Asiaweek, the Economist, Time, and Newsweek registered significant gains in the region.

Part of the steep decline after 1987 was due to the magazine's troubles in Singapore, where it lost 10,000 of its then 60,000 total circulation at the end of the year as a result of a disagreement with the Singapore government. After Singapore officials issued a gazette reducing the Review's circulation to 300, the magazine decided to suspend all circulation there.

Soon after, a source at the magazine said, a major disagreement on the Review's business side led to the departure of several long-time employees, and advertising sales continued to slide after a respite in 1988.

Since then, Dow Jones has brought in a new publisher and the magazine's performance has been improving. Overall audited circulation is currently about 72,000, but circulation in Asia is 25,000, down from a 1987 high of 41,000.

"We're at a very good point, but

not quite at the point we were before Singapore," said Thomas P. Eginton, the publisher. He would not say whether the magazine was making a profit.

The Review would no doubt boost its fortunes if it could re-enter that market. Some observers have suggested that Mr. Bowring's ouster might pave the way for the weekly's return to Singapore.

But Karen Elliott House, vice president, international for Dow Jones, strongly rejected that suggestion. "It's not a part of our calculation. I don't think personality has a lot to do with it anyway," she said.

She defended Mr. Crowitz's credentials, saying, "In the best Dow Jones tradition, we believe that if you take a smart, interested person you can do anything well. And Gordon has enormous intelligence and great journalistic integrity."

Meanwhile, some members of the staff are considering the possibility of a management buyout or searching for investors to make an offer to Dow Jones for the magazine.

Ms. House said Dow Jones was not interested in selling the Review and denied that the company was an interloper. "We're not outsiders," she said. "We're owners."

## PERRIER: Nestlé Settles Deal

(Continued from first finance page)

water company's projected 1992 earnings, Michael Oertli of UBS-Phillips & Drew described this price as "not particularly expensive for such a unique asset."

Under the deal, the Agnelli group agreed to raise their offer for the remaining shares of Exor to 1,450 francs a share, from their original offer of 1,320 francs. They were joined in this improved offer by BSN, which, under a complex formula, will take a minority stake in Exor.

Gianluigi Gabetti, the head of the Agnelli's main financial holding company IFI, described the BSN presence in the offer for Exor as "symbolic of the restoration of our excellent relations with BSN."

The Agnelli group's close relations with the leading French food company, in which it holds a 5.8 percent stake, had been soured by its original bid for Exor, which BSN saw as a threat.

Jacques Riboud, chairman of BSN, acknowledged that during the fight for Perrier there had sometimes been "strong, even violent exchanges between the two sides." But he added that peace had now been restored.

## Hoechst Outlook Dims On Poor Sales Growth

FRANKFURT — Hoechst AG, the chemicals and pharmaceuticals concern, said Tuesday that sales growth was minimal in the first two months of this year and that the outlook for now was poor.

The management board chairman, Wolfgang Hilger, said that group sales climbed by about 3 percent in the first two months, but that 1.5 percent to 2 percent of this was due to favorable dollar exchange rates.

"The figures available up to now for the first two months of 1992 give no indication of a turnaround in the trend," he said.

Mr. Hilger said the company's pharmaceuticals business had experienced good growth in the period, but that plastics and plastic films had made a weak start. Pharmaceuticals made up 20 percent of the group's sales last year.

Following the weak start, there may be a respite in the seasonal trend of past years with a poor second half if we are to maintain our profit at the same level," he said.

In its 1991 annual report, released Tuesday, Mr. Hilger said that although business activity in

its major markets remained slack in the first few months of this year, Hoechst expected an upturn in the second half.

Mr. Hilger forecast 1992 sales growth at 4 percent to 5 percent, saying it would depend not only on economic conditions but on exchange rates.

Earlier in March, Hoechst reported that 1991 group net income fell 20 percent to 1.36 billion Deutsche marks (\$813 million). Sales last year rose 5 percent to 47.2 billion DM.

In its annual report, Hoechst said 1991 operating profit totaled 2.78 billion DM. Profit in the European Community was down to 1.74 billion DM, from 2.15 billion DM. North American profit fell to 625 million DM, from 761 million DM.

Mr. Hilger declined to comment on the 1992 profit outlook for the group. But he said demand and production had slowed in both Germany and Japan.

"Any forecast of the future trend is uncertain," Mr. Hilger said. "Most probably there will be only a gradual and relatively weak recovery, beginning in the U.S. This development will show up last of all in the German market."

## Investor's Europe

Sources: Reuters, AFP

## Very briefly:

- Peugeot SA, the French carmaker, has lodged a new appeal against a 1985 EC ruling that allows car sales at cheaper prices across the Community's internal borders in order to bypass dealer networks, a European Court of Justice official said.
- ABB Asea Brown Boveri is to deliver 33 locomotives to India in a contract worth \$220 million; they will be partly assembled in India.
- Czechoslovak State Bank said it was lowering its discount rate from 9.5 percent to 9.0 percent starting Wednesday.
- ASLK-CGER, the Belgian state-owned banking and insurance group, said its 1991 consolidated net profit fell 38.3 percent, to 1.84 billion francs (\$316 million), reflecting a goodwill charge from its takeover last year of the Belgian insurance unit of Eagle Star Holdings of Britain.
- Friedl Krupp GmbH said it had been turned into a joint stock company to pave the way for a planned merger with its rival, Hoechst AG, in July.
- Capthorne hotel group, a wholly owned unit of Ireland's Aer Lingus airline, said it expected to grow from 13 hotels to 30 by 1995.
- Sabena SA, the Belgian national airline now facing financial problems, canceled an order for five Boeing 737-500s, but the Czechoslovak national airline, CSA, has agreed to buy the planes.

AFP, Reuters, AP

## P&O's Profit Falls 16.8%

LONDON — Peninsular & Oriental Steam Navigation Co. said Tuesday that its 1991 pretax profit fell 16.8 percent, but its share price rose as the results were near the top end of analysts' forecasts.

P&O also announced it was breaking up its Fall Mall Properties venture with Chelsfield Properties, which was used two years ago to launch a hostile bid for Lasing Properties PLC for \$441 million (\$760 million). P&O said it had agreed to buy the share and loan capital of Fall Mall. Traders were cheered by the news, after rumors about the venture's debt.

The international shipping, services and construction group said pretax profit totaled £217.4 million and said it would maintain its dividend at 30.5 pence.

P&O shares gained 48.5 pence on Tuesday, to 428 pence, also partly supported by the purchase of £1.5 million of shares by its chairman, Lord Sterling, and Bruce MacPhail, the managing director.

## Halifax's 1991 Profit Edged Up 6%

LONDON — Halifax Building Society, Britain's largest mortgage lender, said Tuesday that pretax profit for the year that ended in January totaled £628 million (\$1.08 billion), up 5.9 percent from £593 million.

But the recession and problems faced by people struggling to repay money borrowed during the boom years of the late 1980s meant that net lending fell by 26 percent, to £3.9 billion.

Halifax added £229 million to its provisions for bad debts during the year, bringing total loss provisions to £322 million. The society, a mutual organization owned by its depositors and borrowers, said the housing market looked set for a fragile recovery after what was perhaps the worst year since 1945.

## Invergordon's Earnings Up 42%

LONDON — Invergordon Distillers Group PLC, the Scotch whisky maker, said Tuesday that 1992 trading had started well after a 41.9 percent increase in 1991 profit to £32.2 million (\$55.4 million), compared with £22.7 million a year earlier.

The company, which defeated a hostile takeover bid last fall by its rival, Whyte & Mackay Group, said it expected volume to continue to grow. Whyte & Mackay, which is owned by American Brands Inc., still holds 41.3 percent of Invergordon.

Invergordon, whose brands include Invergordon Single Grain, Cluny and Original Mackinlay, took a £4.2 million extraordinary charge in its 1991 accounts for the cost of defense against the bid.

## NASDAQ

Tuesday's Prices  
NASDAQ prices as of 4 p.m. New York time. This list compiled by the AP consists of the 1,000 most traded securities in terms of dollar value. It is updated twice a year.



AMEX

Tuesday's Closing Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

Table of AMEX stock prices including columns for High, Low, and various stock symbols.

Table of stock prices for various companies, including columns for High, Low, and stock symbols.

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NYSE

Tuesday's Closing Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

Table of NYSE stock prices including columns for High, Low, and various stock symbols.

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ESORTS & GUIDES section with advertisement for Belle Epoch Escort Service.

INTERNATIONAL CLASSIFIED section with advertisement for Debutante Escort Service.

ESORTS & GUIDES section with advertisement for London Elite Escort Service.

Large advertisement for the International Herald Tribune subscription, featuring 'TWO EXTRA MONTHS FREE' and 'SAVE UP TO 50%'.



# SPORTS BASKETBALL

By Steve Berkowitz

**ATLANTA**—Having just watched his team get left in the vapor of a maize and blue exhaust, East Tennessee State's coach, Alan LeForce, was asked what he saw in the future for Michigan's all-freshman starting lineup of Chris Webber, Jalen Rose, Juwan Howard, Jimmy King and Ray Jackson.

"I see one of them with the Chicago Bulls, one of them with the Los Angeles Lakers," LeForce said. "I see about two or three lottery picks. I think in four or five years, we'll look and we'll say, 'Gosh, we played a good basketball team,' because they're all going to be in the NBA."

Then he said, "I wouldn't be surprised if they go to the Final Four" of this year's National Collegiate Athletic Association basketball tournament.

Led by that precocious quintet, known as the Fab Five, Michigan is not only playing well and playing with confidence and purpose. It is forcing people to consider what would seem impossible for a team whose pillars

## Michigan: All Frosh, All Tough, All the Way?

are facing the crucible of NCAA tournament play for the first time.

But if karma counts for anything, Michigan has much in its favor as it prepares for a Southeast Region semifinal Friday in Lexington, Kentucky, against a hard-defending Oklahoma State team that starts four seniors and plays a fifth.

Michigan's run to the 1989 national championship was not supposed to happen either. That team had a rookie coach, Steve Fisher, the Michigan man who the athletic director at the time, Bo Schmebocher, put in charge when Bill Frieder accepted an offer from Arizona State just before the tournament began. That team began with first- and second-round games in Atlanta. And it played its regional semifinal and final games in Lexington. That team also played the semifinals in a domed stadium, Seattle's Kingdome, just as this team will in the Metrodome in Minneapolis.

Fisher insists that it is "an altogether different feeling" this time. But then he adds: "I know what I'm getting into now. At that time, I didn't — and maybe that was good. Maybe I was just dumb enough to allow Glen Rice to lead us to a national championship. Maybe I'll be dumb enough to let Webber and Howard take us down to Lexington for some success."

Webber and Howard have the 6-foot, 9-inch, 240-pound (2.06-meter and 109-kilogram) bodies that make it hard to remember that they have just turned 19. And Webber's exploits on the court make it easy to ask: Could this guy play in the National Basketball Association right now?

He averaged 9.8 rebounds in Big Ten games, making him the first freshman to lead the conference in that category. He also averaged 1.94 steals, making him the first frontcourt player to lead the conference in that category. In addition, he scores 15.4 points per game,

blocks 2.5 shots and carries an attitude that insulates him from outside forces.

"The pressure we put on ourselves — the pressure Juwan puts on me and Jimmy and Jalen and Ray put on me to play well — that's the only pressure we feel," Webber said. "But we have higher expectations than anybody realizes."

The Fab Five arrived in a far from coincidental sequence that was welcome news to Fisher after a 1990-91 season that ended with a 13-14 record and a loss in the first round of the National Invitation Tournament.

First came Howard, who had visited Michigan with King. King was next. Then came Jackson. The coup was completed with Webber, who had nearly committed to Michigan State and made a late visit to Duke, and Rose, a longtime friend of Webber's.

Another important part of the puzzle was Fisher's hiring of Perry Watson as an assistant.

Rose's coach at Detroit's Southwestern High School, where he compiled a 302-34 record in 13 years, Watson served as a bridge between the other coaches and the freshmen.

"They're special," Watson said. "They're special in terms of their talent, but also in terms of their receptiveness to coaching. Some people are talented and they turn off coaching, which stunts their growth. But Jalen and Chris, we go so far back that I think they impacted on the other three to trust in the coaches."

The next problem was getting the freshmen to mesh with Michigan's returning players, four of whom started last season. When Fisher began starting the five freshmen in early February, there was some friction. But as the Wolverines built a 9-2 record in games started by the Fab Five, that has dissipated.

"They've done a great job of expanding the circle that initially was built just for them, and they brought 15 people in it," Fisher said. Last

year's starters "would like to be getting more minutes, but they're happy to be in the round of 16."

And Howard blithely said he saw no reason for nervousness to get in the way of further advancement. "In high school, we've been through the same thing," he told a large group of reporters. "It's only that there are more of you now."

Michigan also has been through a lot recently, from an impressive, nationally televised 85-85 overtime loss to Duke in December to a disappointing 96-78 loss at Wisconsin in February.

But the game that seemed to be the turning point was a 77-66 loss at Ohio State on March 3. The Wolverines led for most of the game and were ahead with about five minutes to play when three turnovers in 33 seconds helped Ohio State score six game-winning points.

"That was when we made the realization about the toughness you have to have," Webber said. "They have not lost since."

"I knew these kids were capable," Watson said. "It was just when. Was it going to be this year, next year or the following year? But I started seeing little signs and I said, 'Hey, it could happen this year.'"

### SIDELINES

#### 6-10 Year Term Sought for Tyson

**INDIANAPOLIS (AP)** — The state will ask that Mike Tyson be sentenced to six to 10 years in prison and pay the maximum \$30,000 fine for his convictions on rape and related charges.

Marion County Prosecutor Jeffrey Modisett, in an interview published in Tuesday's editions of The Indianapolis Star, also said the prosecution would ask Marion Superior Court Judge Patricia J. Gifford to order the former heavyweight champion to pay prosecution and related costs up to \$150,000.

Tyson, convicted of one count of rape and two counts of criminal deviate conduct, will be sentenced by Gifford on Thursday. He could receive a maximum of 60 years in prison for the three counts.

#### Police Meet With 3 Mets' Lawyers

**PORT ST. LUCIE, Florida (NYT)** — Members of the Port St. Lucie Police Department have met for the first time with lawyers representing the three players for the New York Mets who were named here in a rape complaint this month.

In the meeting, which lasted about an hour Monday, members of the police department outlined what they might need from the suspects to complete their investigation by the end of this week.

Among those needs, said Lieutenant Scott Bartal, might be blood samples and statements from the players. He added that David Morgan, an assistant state attorney in whose office the meeting was held, asked that the players "be ready to answer to those needs by Wednesday."

#### Vincent Urges San Jose: Take Giants

**SAN JOSE, California (AP)** — Commissioner Fay Vincent has urged San Jose voters to approve building a stadium to lure the San Francisco Giants south because "baseball is beautiful" and their present ballpark is not.

"The San Francisco team cannot play in Candlestick much longer," Vincent said Monday before attending a \$1,000-a-plate luncheon for a pro-San Jose stadium group. "The fans have to be the hardest fans in baseball. I was there last July and the people were in parks. The Giants are going to play somewhere else," he said. "Candlestick is not habitable. It is not a hospitable place for baseball."

#### For the Record

Oswaldo Bazolo, coach of UEFA Cup semifinalist Genoa, will quit and move to Internazionale at the end of the Italian soccer season to be closer to his family in Verona, the club said Tuesday.

Kim Yong Kang of South Korea retained his WBA flyweight title Tuesday by knocking out Filipino challenger Jonathan Penales in the sixth round in Seoul.

Hakeem Olajuwon has been suspended indefinitely by the Houston Rockets, who accuse the six-time All-Star center of failing to suit up after a doctor cleared him to play. Olajuwon's agent said he planned to file a grievance against the Rockets after further talks with the NBA Players Association.

Ron Lapointe, the former coach of the NHL Quebec Nordiques, died Monday after a four-year battle with cancer. He was 42.



Virginia's Bryant Stith got by Tennessee's Carlos Groves, but missed the lay-up and hurt his shoulder.

## Kentucky's Life After Scandal

Probation Allowed the Home-Grown Talent to Thrive

By George Vecsey

New York Times Service

**WORCESTER, Massachusetts** — In that first season, the air-freight packages would be sealed onto the court by opposing fans, a graphic reminder that Kentucky was on major probation.

"Monopoly money, phony money," John Pelphrey recalled. "You had to have a sense of humor about it."

The tamis hurt everybody at Kentucky, especially Pelphrey, Richie Farmer and Darren Feldhaus, three freshmen from rural Kentucky who had been persuaded to come to the school to play or sit on the bench, but not to be ridiculed.

That was three seasons ago, and Kentucky is on its way back from disgrace now.

Allowed into the national tournament for the first time in four years, the Wildcats advanced to the regionals by outrunning and outgunning Iowa State, 106-98, on Sunday.

By winning the Wildcats extended the 39-year broadcasting career of Caswood Ledford for at least another game. All over the Commonwealth of Kentucky, life tends to slow down considerably while the Wildcats are playing and Ledford is barking into the mike.

"There are two kinds of fans," says Rick Pitino, the New Yorker who is still bemused at the frenzy for the sport he coaches. "There are fans like Knicks fans, who have other interests, maybe the theater, maybe books, restaurants. And there are Rangers and Providence fans, who care about nothing else. Oh, sure, God and family and that kind of thing."

What kind of fans are Kentucky fans? Pitino smiled and said, "Like Rangers and Providence fans."

The call of the Wildcats is so great that all-state players are pressured into enrolling at Kentucky even if they have no realistic chance of playing.

They become the Kentucky version of the vestal virgins of more primitive societies, raised to be sacrificed for the communal good.

With eyes wide open and filled with realistic zeal, Farmer, Pelphrey and Feldhaus came to Kentucky just in time to play on the worst Kentucky team in the modern era: 13 victories, 19 losses.

The school was already banned from postseason play because of recruiting violations, the most publicized of which was an air-freight envelope that had apparently come

apart in an airport, with bills fluttering out, presumably sent by a Kentucky assistant to the father of a recruit.

There were other disgraces, and the most enduring basketball program in the country began coming apart.

"Teams would come in thinking, 'This is the one chance to beat Kentucky,'" Pelphrey said with disdain.

Pelphrey, rail thin with pointy ears protruding below a reddish crewcut, looking like Wildcat players from 50 years ago, hails from the town of Paintsville in eastern Kentucky, not too far from Butcher Holler, home of Loretta Lynn.

In 1987, he had been named Mr. Basketball, the ultimate honor for a Kentucky high-school player.

The next year, Richie Farmer, from the gritty coal town of Manchester in eastern Kentucky, was named Mr. Basketball. When he was young, he had made the pilgrimage north to Lexington whenever somebody came up with Wildcat tickets.

"Going to Kentucky was a dream of mine," Farmer said. "I felt I could play at this level, but it turned out otherwise, that would have been all right."

Darren Feldhaus, from Maysville in Mason County, had ties to Wildcat basketball. His father and his high-school coach, Allen Feldhaus, had played for Adolph Rupp from 1960 to 1962.

These three freshmen had no sense of humor about losing, but something good came out of it for these three Kentucky boys, after Eddie Sutton left.

In Sutton's place came Rick Pitino, a man known as "the Knicker" coach," entrusted with rebuilding Wildcat basketball.

"These three kids had been led to believe they could not play at Kentucky," Pitino recalled. "Their self-esteem was as low as I've ever seen."

"When I said we were going to press for 94 feet, they didn't think they could do it. That wasn't their style. To be honest, if it hadn't been Kentucky, I don't think they would have stayed. But they didn't want to be part of the memory of the Scarlet P on their chest, you know, Probation. The bad thing was, these kids were not responsible for it. They didn't get a cup of coffee out of it."

These three Kentucky boys do not concede they would not have been regulars at Kentucky, but they admit they got more of a chance when the blue-chip recruits began scattering.

The three Kentucky boys worked with Rock Oliver, the strength coach. They ran the track. They took the places on the court that out-of-state players would have held. And they valued those places because they had grown up listening to tales of Groza and Beard, Adolph Rupp and Joe B. Hall.

"With these guys, you'd say, 'Run through a brick wall, and they would say, 'How many times do we have, Coach?'" said Pitino, who then added an observation from his Big East and professional experience: "With somebody like Derrick Coleman, it's, 'Well, maybe I'll walk around it awhile.'"

Pitino used the blood loyalty of the Kentucky boys as the mortar of his new program, bringing in talent like Jamal Mashburn from New York. His teams were 14-14 and 22-6 in the last two years of probation.

This year the Wildcats are 28-6, and 4th ranking.

On Sunday the three Kentuckians had 45 of the Wildcats' points. And maybe they would have settled for none of the points, if the Wildcats had won. Earlier in the week, Pelphrey was asked why he turned down offers from other schools. He replied, "Where else is there to play?"

In Kentucky, they mean it.

### SCOREBOARD

#### NBA Standings

##### EASTERN CONFERENCE

###### Atlantic Division

Team	W	L	Pct	GB
New York	42	27	.607	
Boston	39	30	.565	
New Jersey	31	37	.450	1 1/2
Orlando	27	41	.397	2 1/2
Philadelphia	23	45	.338	3 1/2
Washington	22	46	.324	3 1/2
Charlotte	17	51	.250	25 1/2

###### Central Division

Team	W	L	Pct	GB
Chicago	36	33	.522	
Chicago II	31	38	.447	1 1/2
Indiana	24	45	.344	2 1/2
Atlanta	23	46	.333	2 1/2
Memphis	22	47	.317	2 1/2
Charlotte	22	47	.317	2 1/2

##### WESTERN CONFERENCE

###### Midwest Division

Team	W	L	Pct	GB
Utah	45	24	.652	
San Antonio	42	27	.607	
Houston	37	32	.536	1 1/2
Denver	23	46	.333	2 1/2
Portland	17	52	.243	28 1/2
Minnesota	11	57	.162	34

###### Pacific Division

Team	W	L	Pct	GB
Portland	48	20	.706	
Golden State	44	24	.646	1 1/2
Phoenix	41	27	.603	1 1/2
Seattle	38	30	.559	1 1/2
L.A. Clippers	27	41	.397	2 1/2
L.A. Lakers	26	42	.382	2 1/2
Sacramento	22	47	.317	2 1/2

#### MONDAY'S RESULTS

Charlotte	91	87	34-128
New Jersey	95	84	35-123
CHI 74:5-10:24, Johnson 9-19-4-34, Curry 9-18-2-22; Coleman 14-16-4-37, Petrovic 19-24-12-22; Robinson 14-16-4-37, Johnson 10, Howard 12 (Orlando 12), Austin 10, Charles 24 (Boston 10), New Jersey 25 (Columbus 6), San Antonio 24 21 22 19-32			
PHOENIX 92:81, Johnson 19-23-36, Johnson 19-23-36			
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#### College Basketball

##### MAIA Men's Division I Tournament

###### Championship

Oklahoma City 62, Central Arkansas 74, OT

#### BASEBALL

##### AMERICAN LEAGUE

###### CLEVELAND

Cleveland 4-3, Toronto 1-2

##### NATIONAL LEAGUE

###### ST. LOUIS

St. Louis 4-3, Houston 1-2

#### BASEBALL

##### MONDAY'S RESULTS

PHOENIX 92:81, Johnson 19-23-36, Johnson 19-23-36
PHOENIX 92:81, Johnson 19-23-36, Johnson 19-23-36
PHOENIX 92:81, Johnson 19-23-36, Johnson 19-23-36
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#### TRANSACTIONS

##### BASEBALL

###### CLEVELAND

Cleveland 4-3, Toronto 1-2

##### NATIONAL LEAGUE

###### ST. LOUIS

St. Louis 4-3, Houston 1-2

#### BASEBALL

##### MONDAY'S RESULTS

PHOENIX 92:81, Johnson 19-23-36, Johnson 19-23-36
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#### HOCKEY

##### NHL Standings

###### WALLES CONFERENCE

###### Pacific Division

Team	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
N.Y. Rangers	47	23	9	99	303	233
Washington	42	28	7	91	311	232
Pittsburgh	35	35	9	79	313	288
New Jersey	34	38	11	79	344	328
Philadelphia	30	32	11	77	227	245
N.Y. Islanders	30	38	7	70	283	280

###### Atlantic Division

Team	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Montreal	41	21	9	91	254	184
St. Louis	31	31	10	76	248	254
Buffalo	29	33	11	69	287	274
Hartford	29	33	10	68	253	228
Quebec	17	45	11	46	228	294

##### CAMPBELL CONFERENCE

###### Norris Division

Team	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Detroit	38	21	9	85	295	242
Chicago	32	27	14	80	229	229
St. Louis	29	30	10	78	259	254
Minnesota	31	37	5	67	225	249
Toronto	29	37	5	63	228	268

###### Smythe Division

Team	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Winnipeg	46	22	11	103	319	277
Los Angeles	34	28	10	78	271	277
Edmonton	34	28	10	78	274	273
Calgary	28	34	10	66	222	245
San Jose	17	52	5	39	197	327

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OBSERVER

The Decline of Scandal

By Russell Baker
NEW YORK — I can't decide which line to take toward England's scandalous royals. The newsman in me clamors for shrieks of "Shame!" and "Civilization is finished!" And why not? Exclamations mark the newspapers.

Some Russian Writers Miss Bad Old Days

By Celestine Bohlen
New York Times Service
MOSCOW — Back in the old days, when the Soviet government was still propping up an official cultural establishment, Lev Novogrudsky used to spend three months a year in various retreats that belonged to the Union of Soviet Writers.



le, locked in heavy competition for a shrinking market.
Both Russia's PEN-Center and the literary group April, a liberal offshoot of the Writers' Union, have issued impassioned appeals to President Boris N. Yeltsin, calling for the government to step in and help save Russian literature and culture from death by free market.

PEOPLE

Springsteen and Sony Cautiously Test Market

Maybe Sony Corp. doesn't trust anyone under 42. Hedging its bets on whether Bruce Springsteen will appeal to an audience younger than himself, it is reportedly shipping only a limited number of copies of his two new albums, "Human Touch" and "Lucky Town," scheduled for release March 30.

TODAY'S BUSINESS MESSAGE CENTER
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PERSONALS
ANNOUNCEMENTS
SUMMER COURSES IN PARIS
AUTOMOBILE MARKET

INTERNATIONAL CLASSIFIED
MOVING
REAL ESTATE FOR SALE
REAL ESTATE TO RENT/SHARE
EMPLOYMENT
GENERAL POSITIONS WANTED
ASIA PACIFIC 10 YEARS HANDS ON EXPERIENCE

Inside the New Europe
Axel Krause
A wonderfully lively, unpretentious picture of Western Europe... and how it appears to a shrewd observer with access to everyone at the top.
Anthony Sampson, The New York Times Book Review

Inside the New Europe
is an insider's comprehensive account of contemporary Western Europe's effort to become a more powerful and united force in world affairs.
To help answer the many questions about 1992 and beyond, Axel Krause calls upon EC heads of state and government to answer a single question, "What is your vision of Europe in the year 2000 — what will it be, what will it not be?"

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